

The Jane Austen Society



Report for 2018

The Jane Austen Society

Founded in 1940 by Miss Dorothy Darnell

Registered Charity No. 1040613

www.janeaustensociety.org.uk

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Front cover: Jane Porter, novelist, c.1810, by H.Harding, courtesy of Karen Ievers.
(for details see p.20)

Back cover: Lady George Hill (Cassandra Jane Knight), c.1834, portrait miniature by Hugh Ross, courtesy of Karen Ievers.

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Report for 2018

from the Chairman

2018 was always likely to seem a quiet year after all the excitements of the bicentenary. We were not able to run the usual conference, but there was an excellent study day, and the groups and branches displayed their usual vigour and variety. It is a particular pleasure to see the resource and creativity that has enabled the resurgence of the Midlands branch. As you will have seen in full colour on the front page of the autumn *News Letter*, groups and branches contributed five squares to the Austen community quilt, now on display at the Cottage, with one of your trustees, Mary Hogg, contributing a sixth. From the book reviews section in the *News Letters* you have also been able to observe the many ways in which Jane Austen's work, life and times are being studied, and increasingly, the story of what academics now call reception: the now global industry of adapting, appropriating and sometimes making a travesty of the author and her novels.

In 2018 we also lost two greatly valued friends. Tony Corley, a long-serving trustee, died at the age of 94; even in his last years he could be spotted laying out chairs for the AGM. His words will live on especially in his entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Diana Shervington, Vice-President, died less than six months short of her hundredth birthday. In the words of Maggie Lane's obituary in the *News Letter* she was 'a life-enhancing person... she lived her long life with gaiety, courage and charm'. These were links with the past, now broken, but meanwhile we have been looking to the Society's future. We have made efforts to encourage more members to put themselves forward for the committee, and they have borne fruit; the new committee, to be confirmed at the next AGM, promises to be a good mixture of old hands and new blood

Richard Jenkyns
Chairman

Minutes of the 62nd Annual General Meeting

held at Chawton House
on Saturday 14 July 2018

1. **The President**, Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles, welcomed everyone to the 62nd Annual General Meeting of the Society and thanked Chawton House Library once again for generously opening their grounds for the Society to hold the AGM. He advised that the Library would now be known as Chawton House; that it would be open during the day for everyone to use their facilities and, during the lunch period, to undertake a self-guided tour. However, the House would no longer be participating in the Heritage Open Day programme.

Jane Austen's House Museum would also be open until 6pm and entry was free on production of a membership card.

He reminded members to ensure that they collected their Annual Report from the Membership Secretary.

2. **The Chairman**, Richard Jenkyns, announced formal **Apologies** from Ann Bates, Seamus Bates, Maureen and Tom Kelly, Sheila Millington, Beryl Myers, Gordon Myers, Julie Shorland, Lesley and Ian Wilson and Diana White.

3. He first welcomed Deirdre Le Faye, one of the Society's Vice-Presidents and announced, with great pleasure, that Patrick Stokes and Richard Knight, former Chairman and President of the Society respectively, had also been appointed as Vice-Presidents.

He then recorded with sadness the death of **Tony Corley** in March of this year, at the age of 94. Tony had been a Trustee of the Society for some 20 years and, well into his 90s, was still setting out chairs in the marquee for the AGM.

As well as contributing much research and articles to the Society, his memory will remain through his contribution of biographies to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. An Obituary would appear in the next *News Letter*.

He also recorded the death of **Andrew Banks**, at the relatively young age of 51, whose work as Treasurer of the Northern Branch for the last 20 years had been highly valued.

Last year, the bicentenary of the death of Jane Austen had, of course, been a special peak year, in which there had been three events in particular. One had been the launch of the new £10 note, to which the President and Chairman had been invited, and whose photograph holding the new note appeared in the Annual Report. The Governor of the Bank of England justified his inclusion of a quotation by Miss Bingley by saying, with a degree of irony, that it was subtle post-modern irony. It was at this event, that Gillian Dow, Executive Director of Chawton House, gave a splendid speech, and which provided the opportunity for the Society to invite her to give the address at the 2019 Annual General Meeting.

There had been a small, but particularly moving, event held, after evensong, in Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey, to commemorate the life of Jane Austen, where members of the Society gave readings that had been selected by the Vice-Chairman, Michael Kenning. And finally there had been the huge commemoration in Winchester Cathedral that had been attended by several members of the Society, who then went on to a companionable reception in Pilgrims' Hall, organised by Elizabeth Proudman. Further details of these events featured in an article in the Annual Report.

After so much of Jane Austen in 2017, even in the current more fallow year, there was evidence that she still attracted worldwide interest. The *Times* had reported the formation of a Jane Austen Society in Pakistan, whose President claimed that Austen spoke more to the Asian community than to the West. This was somewhat in contrast to general opinion that Austen's works were, in fact, timeless. There was also a study in the USA which claimed that Austen was the female author most cited by American judges in legal rulings, albeit that at least

half only used the first sentence of *Pride and Prejudice*. And while speaking of America, the President looked forward, in the afternoon, to greeting members of the Jane Austen Society of North America on their annual pilgrimage tour to the UK.

The Society was keeping up vigorously with its activities, and the Educational Outreach Programme had had further promotion by an article in *Regency World*, written by Marilyn Joice, one of the Society's Trustees.

47 talks had been given to a widespread and wide variety of community organisations and talks had already been booked into 2019. The Chairman invited interest from members of the Society in becoming speakers, in order to further widen the educational reach.

The Annual Study Day was held once again in London on 11 February, the subject being *Northanger Abbey*. Dr Jane Darcy, from Kings College, London, Professor Emma Clery from Southampton University, Stephen Mahony – author of *Wealth or Poverty*, and Dr Bill Hutchings from Manchester University provided, once again, a very varied and interesting programme. And the Society was delighted to have Dr Hutchings as guest speaker at the afternoon session of the AGM. Next year's Study Day would be held on Saturday 10 February 2019 at Senate House, University College, London, and details would be in the next *News Letter*.

As members would have read, Patrick Stokes had stepped down from organising the Annual Conferences and members were disappointed that, as a consequence, it had not been possible to organise one in 2018. However, members would be very pleased to know that a conference was being arranged for 26th to 29th September 2019. It would be based in Basingstoke and would concentrate on Jane Austen in her own county. Further details would be in future *News Letters*.

The great distinction of the Society was the inspirational work of the Branches and Groups, and the Chairman had been disappointed in being unable to attend their annual meeting in February 2018. Each Branch and Group was different and did different things, and members were invited to visit their stalls to see the high quality of their work.

The Society had been very encouraged by the initial response to its launch of the Jane Austen 250 Fund, set up to support the joint educational activity of the Society and Jane Austen's House Museum, and the Chairman was very pleased to announce that over £1000 has been raised to date. The Society would be discussing the use of these funds with the Museum. This Fund, together with the Legacy scheme, was managed by David Richardson, the Society's Fund and Legacy coordinator, and members were invited to contact him for leaflets and information.

The Chairman regretted that members had not heard the last of the recent General Data Protection Regulations 2018 (GDPR) but had to inform them that the Society was fully compliant with its requirements with the exception of Life Members who were not deemed to have given consent in the same way as annual subscribers. In those cases, Sharron Bassett, the Membership Secretary, would be

contacting them separately. Even more important, was that all members remember to notify the Society immediately on change of address or other details, otherwise the Society would not be able to contact them. More details would appear in the next *News Letter*.

All members of the Committee (the Trustees) worked hard in managing the Society's work and it was invidious to single out particular members, but the Chairman wished to acknowledge Maureen Stiller, Secretary, Matthew Huntley, Treasurer, Sharron Bassett, Membership Secretary, Maggie Lane, for her stylish *News Letters* and Annual Report, and Michael Kenning for organising the AGMs and, particularly, the arduous amount of work involved in the bicentenary celebrations. Brian Joice, the website coordinator, was also commended in his management of the Society's website. Members were encouraged to keep looking at it for news and depth of information.

Thinking of the present Committee, it was time now to consider the 2019 elections for the new, and future, Committee.

It was recognised that younger members may have commitments that would not allow any time to participate, but all members were asked to think if they would wish to be considered for a place on any new Committee. The Society would, in any event, continue to place reminders in the *News Letters*.

The Chairman said that the Society was in good health and looked forward to maintaining that for the future.

4. **The Treasurer** said that, because the financial information demanded by the Charities Commission was off-puttingly long, he would talk members through the detailed statement of financial activity during the year 2017, contained on pages 102-104 of the Annual Report, which would give the most useful comparative information in an easily understood way.

Starting with **Income and Endowments**, at the top of page 103, annual subscriptions had now turned a corner and showed a small increase. This was the result of the tireless work of the Membership Secretary in chasing up short-payers and the deletion of non-payers. This work still continued but had already provided a much more accurate membership figure than the Society has had to date. Up to 31 December 2017, there were 1350 members. This was considerably down on last year's figure, because Sharron had done a thorough weeding of people who had not updated their standing orders, despite reminders, and this had resulted in the removal of over 200 members from the database. There had also been some deaths and resignations, but 79 new members had been recruited and 5 Life Members reinstated, resulting in the latest figure.

After a few years catching up with uncollected **Gift Aid tax recovery**, the Society was now up to date, and expected that such recovery would be much the same now for each future year.

Sundry donations were well up and the Treasurer emphasised the amount of donations derived from organisations which had benefited from the Society's educational talks programme.

The big increase in 2017 of **income from Branches** – £12k more than in 2016 (offset, of course, by a corresponding increase in expenditure) - resulted from the splurge in Austen-related events organised by them in the bicentenary year. The financial details of this, which appeared on page 102 of the Annual Report, made impressive reading. The importance of the Branches to the Society's financial, as well as charitable, well-being could not be overstated and, in that respect, he recorded his thanks to Branch Treasurers, who did an excellent job of keeping Branch activities in good order. Invidious though it seemed to single out any one Branch, he wished to give special thanks to Julia Taylor of the Northern Branch, who took on their accounts from partially incomplete records and had done a great job, in sad circumstances, after the untimely death of Andrew Banks in January.

Investment income rose by 8% to just over £6k, representing a useful yield of 3.59% on capital at the start of the year. And in the course of 2017, the underlying value of the Charities Official Income Fund (COIF), which was administered by the Church, Charities and Local Authorities organisation (CCLA), increased by slightly over 8% to £186,000.

This is reviewed by the Trustees each year as a matter of routine but, so far at least, the Society's decision to invest with the COIF has, in their view, proved to have been justified. The Treasurer had a Fund fact sheet which could be inspected at the end of his address. It had to be recognised, however, that this trend may not be sustained in current troubled times but, at least so far, 2018 had seen a small further increase.

Turning now to **expenditure** (lower down on page 103) there were no surprises, apart from the necessary increase in Branch expenditure already mentioned. Printing costs continued to go up and this had been seen particularly in the cost of the *News Letters* which, nevertheless, looked much better in colour. And the Bicentenary gave rise to an exceptional, but worthwhile, cost of £1,658.

It was therefore pleasing to report a surplus of income of £4,539 (total incoming resources of £61,314 (page 103) less total expenditure of £56,775 (page 104), which compared with £2,984 in 2016. The Treasurer believed that the Society was now on an even keel and could, reasonably, expect this to continue.

In conclusion, he drew attention to the note on **Heritage Assets** at the top of page 99. In the past, the Society had not been required to mention them in the Balance Sheet, because they had never been comprehensively valued and were, in any event, on loan to Jane Austen's House Museum. This may now have to change because of tighter Charity rules requiring a precise valuation and clear indication of ownership, and the Society expected to address this by early next year.

Date of next meeting – Saturday 13 July 2019

Branches and Groups

Reports for 2018

Bath and Bristol Group

Members: Open membership *Subscription:* None *Cost of events:* £10 for talk and tea with sandwiches.

The group had a good year starting with a talk by the Curator of the Museum of East Asian Art on *The Porcelain trade between England and China* and how it brought access to fine china for buyers like the Austens.

In April we had another extremely interesting talk by Marc Allum on *The Cabinet Maker: A Literary Guide to Regency Furniture in the time of Jane Austen* featuring the sort of pieces the different Austen families would have had in their homes. Marc is an expert on his subject – a writer, broadcaster and regular contributor to the Antiques Roadshow. He stayed for the sandwich tea afterwards and was greatly appreciated by the audience.

The summer trip to Chawton for the AGM was a huge success. We hired a coach and 15 members, friends and partners enjoyed an excellent day out.

Our discussion afternoon was on *Sanditon*. This is always a stimulating couple of hours and although it was the least well known of Austen's works, everyone agreed it would undoubtedly have been a masterpiece had she been able to finish it. As usual the afternoon ended with a delicious tea provided by Anne and Michael Davis.

Diana White

Cambridge Group

Members: 36 *Subscription:* Individual £12 Family £15 *Newsletters:* 1 per year.

Our membership has decreased slightly owing to a couple of our longstanding members having sadly passed away. However, interest in the group continues to grow via our Facebook page, which we hope will lead to an increase in membership over time. Promotion of the Group continues with posters displayed at various sites around Cambridge, including University colleges, the U3A and then on our Facebook page.

The first meeting in February was held at our usual venue in central Cambridge. It was a talk entitled *Dialogue in Pride and Prejudice: blunder and innovation*. Given by Anne Toner and accompanied by a slide presentation, it was well received by all those present, was fairly well attended and most enjoyable. In March Jane Austen's House Museum hosted a celebration to mark the completion and display of the Jane Austen Community Quilt, in which the Cambridge Group had participated. It was fantastic to see so many different styles and squares and even more magical that the quilt continued to be displayed at events around the country throughout 2018.

In May a talk was given by Kirsty Harris entitled *A Heroine Who Is Almost Too Good: Anne Elliot and the power of intuition in Persuasion*. It was lively and most interesting. Those attending were happy to voice their opinions in the question and answer session which followed and an enjoyable time was had by all. On 23rd June the Cambridge Group were honoured to host a talk given by Caroline Jane Knight, Jane Austen's 5th Great Niece and as it was a special event a room at the Hotel Felix in Girton was taken for the purpose. It was relatively well attended and hearing Caroline talk about her famous relative was quite brilliant. Entitled *Jane & Me: my Austen Heritage* Caroline illustrated her talk with some wonderful photographs of her Chawton home and told some lively anecdotes of her grandmother amongst others.

Since the Plough at Fen Ditton had proved such a successful venue last year it was chosen for the annual Strawberry Tea in July. The pub had had a makeover in the interim and a glass-enclosed patio with retractable roof was now the scene of our summer feast. Some Austen family poetry on the theme of roses was the delightful entertainment. It had been discovered by one of our members, Ian Hill, who was unfortunately unable to attend owing to health reasons. The sun was as much in evidence this year as the rain had been last year, but once again the staff were helpful and accommodating, attempting to keep us cool and out of the sun by opening and closing the roof as required.

The meeting in October was more of a social occasion. It began with a short presentation about the houses in Bath which might have been familiar to Jane, as well as a few interesting facts about Bath and its efficacy as a place of healing. There followed some pictures and quotations. Members were asked to guess the identity of the various characters being quoted and the actors pictured. This made for some lively discussion, especially on the subject of which television adaptation of the novels was preferred. This was followed by a short quiz, devised and presented by our chairman, Denis Bartlett. It was a most enjoyable interactive meeting. Our year concluded with the Birthday Lunch, held at Queens' College Cambridge with its old-world ambience, roaring real fire and champagne reception. This year we were treated to a return visit by Dr Viv Thomas, with his expressive Welsh voice. His talk was *Value and Values in the Novels of Jane Austen*. It was an enthralling lecture making one think about and understand the true genius of Jane Austen as never before. Beforehand, members had been treated to a special menu, with quotations from Jane Austen, created by the chef with dishes that Jane herself might have known. It included white soup, which was looked forward to and then savoured with great relish. This meeting always tops off our busy year, but never more enjoyably than this year.

Vicki Kerr-Smith

Hampshire Group

Members: 133 *Subscription:* £5 individual £8 per couple *Newsletters:* 2 p.a. *Publications:* 'Occasional Papers'

Our 2018 season started with a Snowdrop Walk in February. We met at Chawton

House in glorious weather and enjoyed strolling through the wilderness and gardens to enjoy the fabulous carpets of snowdrops and aconites. We then had afternoon tea in the old kitchen.

Our AGM at Jane Austen's House Museum was at the end of April with Professor Emma Clery as speaker whose subject was *Jane Austen, the Banker's Sister*. Emma discussed much of the research for her book of the same title. She explored Jane's relationship with her brother and his subsequent decline into bankruptcy within the context of financial practices of the time. She also discussed the resultant far-reaching implications for their family. The meeting concluded with a delicious afternoon tea provided by members of the committee.

In June, two of our committee members collaborated and provided us with an authentic Regency Tea which was held at Jane Austen's House Museum. They investigated recipes which they 'tweaked' slightly when they discovered the originals were rather bland for our taste today. We were given a short presentation about *Taking tea in the Regency era* and we completed a Jane Austen themed quiz for prizes. It was a very enjoyable afternoon.

In October we held our annual Discussion Event and the subject was the *Juvenilia*. Some members had strong views, expressing an opinion that the *Juvenilia* had little value. There was much lively discussion showing the value of these works as an early indicator of the genius to come in the mature author. It may be that opinions were modified! The last event of our season, on the 30th November, was our Birthday Lunch held at Brasserie Blanc in Winchester where almost thirty of us enjoyed a really delicious lunch. This has been a yearly event near to Jane Austen's Birthday but in 2018 it was slightly marred by Winchester being so busy at this time of year which made it extremely difficult for some people to get to the venue. We need to discuss the future of this popular event.

In 2018, we were able to make a considerable donation to Jane Austen's House Museum that they intend to use towards a Writing Workshop being planned this year.

Lesley Wilson

Kent Branch

Members: 83 – 57 individuals, 15 households, 2 honorary members *Subscription:* individual £12, £18 per household. *Newsletters:* 3p.a. *Periodical: Austentations* 1p.a.

Thirty-eight members and friends attended the Summer Event at Godmersham Park. This year the AGM was combined with the Summer Event as we had to cancel the usual springtime AGM at Goodnestone Park due to building works. After the AGM, Clare Graham gave her fascinating illustrated talk *Edward Knight – Jane Austen's 'Fortunate' Brother*. Of course, to have this at his Godmersham home was particularly appropriate. Following lunch in the sun-drenched garden Kate Cavendish performed *Jane Austen at Home* which consisted of dramatized readings from Jane Austen's *Juvenilia*, letters, poetry and novels, and celebrated the variety in her writing.

In August on a warm, fine day nine members including Mark Ballard, a Kent county archivist, enjoyed the annual Jane Austen Kent Ramble, led by Paul Morris. Guided by Mark, a tour was made of Sevenoaks High Street, where Jane's great-uncle Francis Austen lived in The Red House and a generation of Austens lived in The Old House, and of the churchyard to view the imposing tomb of Francis's son, Lucius Motley Austen. We also viewed the plaque at Sevenoaks School dedicated to Elizabeth Weller Austen, Jane's great-grandmother, who became matron and housekeeper at the school to secure a free education for her sons. The Ramble continued to Knole Park where some magnificent deer were seen on the way to a very welcome tea at the National Trust Café, where thousands of wasps wanted to join in!

Thirty members and friends attended and thoroughly enjoyed The Annual Winter Lunch in November in the elegant dining room at Broome Park. Dr Linda Bree addressed the meeting with a talk entitled *Madame D'Arblay, Maria Edgeworth and Another Lady* concluding that this period marked a transformation in the history of fiction.

The final event of 2018 was the celebration of Jane Austen's birthday in Tonbridge with the Annual Birthday Lecture. A hundred people gathered in Tonbridge Parish Church to listen to Professor Emma Clery on *The Importance of Being Henry* which covered the influence of Jane Austen's banker brother on her novels. The afternoon concluded with a selection of delicious cakes all made by Vivian Branson.

Our discussion group Novel Views met twice. In April members discussed *Engagements and Elopements*, and eight members met in September when the topic was *Northanger Abbey*. To mark the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Kent Branch a Student Essay prize is being offered which we hope will establish a closer link with the University of Kent where our Patron, Professor Jennie Batchelor, will promote it. Volume 18 of *Austenations*, edited by Paul Morris, has nine articles, all contributed by members.

Our members were busy with outside activities during the year. In June The Sussex Community Rail Partnership held a pop-up event at Tonbridge Station where leaflets on Jane Austen's family association with Tonbridge and copies of the circular Austen Walk were provided by Vivian Branson. Chairman Jill Webster met with Professors Hisamori and Shaitani, the present and past Presidents of the Jane Austen Society of Japan, on 12 October in Tokyo, when she presented them with a copy of *Jane Austen in Kent* by David Waldron Smithers. They were fascinated to hear about the activities of the Kent Branch and we hope Professor Hisamori will come to visit us. Kent Branch member Sheila Johnson Kindred gave a talk in June entitled *Jane Austen's Transatlantic Family at Home on Board HMS Namur*, at the Historic Dockyard, Chatham, where she also promoted her book: *Jane Austen's Transatlantic Sister: the Life and Letters of Fanny Palmer Austen*.

The Kent Branch has a Facebook page and Vivian Branson has a Twitter Account entitled 'Jane Austen's Zest' (Jane Austen's Zest @JaneAustenKent)

where a daily quotation from the letters or early works is posted. This now has more than 1,300 followers. A special thank you goes to Brian Joice for entering our events onto the Website and for his patience when not given the correct information.

Jill Webster and Vivian Branson

London Group

Members: 117 *Subscription:* £8 *Newsletters:* 2 p.a.

Each talk or event is paid for individually and guests are welcome. The meeting place, St Columba's Hall in Knightsbridge, is very central and reasonably priced.

After the exceptional year of commemorating Jane Austen's life and death in 2017, we began 2018 with the first of our talks in January, a lively one from Amy Frost, Museum Curator of the Bath Preservation Trust. Her subject was *Jane Austen and Architecture*. In February Dr Joe Bray from Sheffield University discussed *Language and Tensions in Jane Austen's Novels*. He looked in detail at sentence formation and the reasons why it varied according to the mood of the speaker. His detailed analysis made for a fascinating insight into her work.

Our AGM on Saturday, 14th April was our first all-day event of 2018. It was followed by our first talk, given by Frances Duncan, who runs the Jane Austen Society of New Zealand. She introduced herself as a member of the Te Whanau a Apanui tribe! She described the connection with members of the Austen family, who had emigrated to New Zealand in 1857 and explained how she started JASNZ in 2014 giving an interesting account of their activities on the other side of the globe. In the afternoon, Hazel Jones spoke on the subject: *One Does Not Love a Place the Less for Suffering In It*, in which she focussed on the character of Anne Elliot and the lonely years which followed her rejection of Wentworth's proposal. She argued convincingly that her journeys, although at times painful, enabled her to hope. Hazel gave, what we had expected, a most engrossing talk.

In April a visit to Stoneleigh Abbey was organised by Sara Hebblethwaite, one of our committee members and a Blue Badge guide. It is a house belonging to Jane Austen's family, which she visited with her mother in 1806. It is really worth a visit, especially if you can be guided by Sheila, from whom we heard stories of the family, including names such as Woodhouse, Watson and Willoughby. On our trip we also visited Baddesley Clinton, a medieval manor house, with priest holes, followed by Kenilworth and Warwick Castles. Our final stop was to another medieval gem – the Lord Leycester Hospital, founded as almshouses and still operating as a charity for retired military personnel.

In June we had a day trip to Selborne and Chawton House, again organised by Sara. The morning was spent at Selborne in the house and grounds of Gilbert White, often described as the first ecologist. The afternoon was spent at Chawton House. After touring the exhibition *The Art of Freezing the Blood*, we were given a private view, under tight security, of books associated with Jane Austen and the Knight family, including a first edition of *Mansfield Park*. It was a real privilege.

In October we had our second full day of lectures, this time at the Caledonian Club. We began with Dr Roger Pooley on *Lady Susan and the Epistolary Novel*, giving the literary context to Jane Austen's choice of that form in her early novels. It was followed by a talk given by Barbara Calderbank, one of our committee members. She speculated on the question *Did Jane Austen influence Terrence Rattigan when he wrote 'The Winslow Boy'*? Such was the quality of her research and her detailed analysis, that we all urged her to publish!

This year's Patricia Clarke memorial lecture was given by Richard Jenkyns, Chairman of the Jane Austen Society. He gave an excellent talk on *Jane Austen and Modernity* in which he drew comparisons between her characters' lives and the present day. The Birthday Lunch in December was at a venue new to us, The University Women's Club in Mayfair, a beautiful 18th Century house, which provided an excellent lunch for our Patron, John Mullan, his wife and more than fifty of our members. It was followed by a presentation on *Jane Austen and Food* – entirely appropriate! Thus ended our year.

Heather Wills-Sandford

Midlands Branch

Members: 58 Subscription: Full £15 Concessions £12 Publications: Newsletters 4 p.a. Periodical: Transactions 1 p.a.

We began 2018 in rather a nervous mood, following a number of years when there had been lower attendance at events resulting in a reduced income. It seemed that the future of the Jane Austen Midlands Branch might be in doubt. As costs have risen there has been, inevitably, some financial loss. It has always been the aim of the Branch to provide interesting events, with good speakers, and appropriate venues whilst keeping costs low as possible.

We tackled this head on at the AGM and Study Day in March at the Beaconside Centre; after the usual reports and business we discussed the Branch's future. Our Secretary, Lynda Turner, put forward the motion that the Midlands Branch should be dissolved on January 1st, 2020. The members had already had a chance to read and consider the arguments given in writing. The motion was defeated after some discussion. A second motion from Lynda proposing reforms in the style and format of our activities, was carried.

There were two excellent presentations for the Study Day part of the programme. Catharine Curzon in the guise of Madame de Guilflirt, presented *Jane Austen and the King of Bling*, a commentary on royalty at the time which was gossipy but very entertaining. Then John White, performance historian from Select Society in the guise of Mr Adams the Butler, laid the table for dinner in 18th century style and gave a lecture in etiquette which included advice on what to do if 'taken short' at the dinner table.

The July Strawberry Tea, held this year at Chillington Hall Staffordshire, attracted 35 members and friends. It was an exceptionally hot day, the grounds were beautiful and the tea declared one of the 'best ever.' Needless to say our Committee was very encouraged by the numbers.

Following the discussions at the AGM the Committee decided to do things differently for the Autumn Appreciation Day in October, that is to say, economically. Our previous meeting places are now beyond our means. However Aston by Stone Village Hall is not. There are a lot of village halls offering excellent modern facilities in our area and they have ample car parking. We also now provide a similar level of catering to our normal fare by buying in party food and serving it ourselves. It needs to be said though that the WI cakes were a cut above. The meeting was well attended and included members of the local Shakespeare Society, whose home venue this is.

The Meryton Mob joined us in the morning to tell us about *Dancing in Regency Times*. There was a short demonstration from the team after which members put on their dancing shoes and joined in. Marilyn Joice gave an excellent illustrated talk on *Widows and Old Maids*. Then in keeping with our new policy, we spent some time discussing *Persuasion* during its 200th Anniversary year. This was led by our Chair, Jennifer Walton. As always it is easy to lead a group with a shared interest and a lot of knowledge. Using 'in house' expertise isn't new of course; we have done this over a number of meetings and are well blessed with good speakers.

For our Birthday lunch we returned to Lilleshall Hall. After the meal we enjoyed *Unfinished Business in Jane Austen's Life*, a presentation in songs, words and music.

Our secretary has revamped the Newsletter to provide more information and comment and we have had a lot of discussion about social media. We have a Facebook page and a place on the Jane Austen main website. Recently one of Jack Barber's daughters helped put up a Twitter presence for us, for which we have great hopes. Dereth Heighway stepped down from the committee during the year and we miss her facility with Google and Facebook.

Jack Barber and Jennifer Walton

Northern Branch

Members: 166 *Subscription:* £5 per person £8 per household *Publication:* *Impressions* 3 p.a.

2018 was another successful year for the Northern Branch despite the sad start occasioned by the deaths of Andrew Banks and Sheila Benson, two founder members of the Branch. At members' request a memorial fund was opened in Andrew's name and raised £425, which was divided between the Adopt-a-Book and the Buy-a-Brick fund-raising schemes. Andrew was the Branch treasurer and the committee held an emergency meeting to handle the many implications of his death.

Our programme of events was opened by our patron, Dr Bill Hutchings, in March with a talk entitled *Taking the False with the True*. Using *Northanger Abbey* as the subject text this talk looked at how Austen used language and syntax, as well as her characters' personalities, to create situations in which opinions and assumptions were expressed as facts. The implications of this created a brilliant

talk, with a full and lively Q & A session afterwards.

Despite having to compete with a royal wedding and a football Cup Final – and we booked the date first! – there was a good attendance on May 19th when Branch member David Richardson gave the aptly titled talk *Father of the Bride*. This looked at the relevant fathers and assessed their parental qualities. On David's scale the best 'father of the bride' was Mr Woodhouse! An excellent talk, it made some very telling points as to what makes a good father, as opposed to an interesting or pleasant person.

The summer outing in June started with lunch in the 18th-century Crown & Cushion in Welburn, a small and delightful village in North Yorkshire. A meandering drive along country lanes then led us to Birdsall House, long the home of the Willoughby family and only recently open to the public. The Willoughbys have a distant but definite connection to the Austen family via Jane's mother Cassandra. It's a beautiful house with a long history from its beginnings as a small Tudor manor to its current imposing presence. Well worth visiting if the chance arises.

Several members, both branch and committee, had a pleasant weekend in Chawton for the AGM, an event to which we all look forward. In September the inimitable Lucy Adlington gave us a new presentation *Bad Girls and Bonnets*. Playing to a full house Lucy used costume and readings to enlighten us on late 18th to early 19th century crime and punishment, particularly in respect of women – and with a mention of Mrs Jane Leigh Perrot. Following the AGM in November Professor Emma Clery gave the Irene Collins Memorial Lecture *Parson's Daughter and Banker's Sister*. She used Irene's book, *Jane Austen and the Clergy* as well as her own book, *Jane Austen - the Banker's Sister* to look at the mix of faith and money in Austen's work. It was an excellent talk, illuminating and erudite and also 'listener-friendly'.

Our Facebook page is prospering and indeed going from strength to strength under the auspices of a new committee member, Lyndsay Harrison who, having answered an appeal for 'new swans', has taken to the work like a duck to water! All our events have made a profit and we have been able to make a donation of £250 to the Chawton House fund.

Julia Taylor

Scottish Branch

Members: Ordinary 70 Institutions 1 *Subscription:* Individual £15 Couple £20 Institution £20 (The Institution is the University of Glasgow Students' Group). *Newsletter:* 2 p.a. A programme card for the year ahead is sent to all members. Venues include Garvock House Hotel in Dunfermline, Wardie Church in Edinburgh and Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery in Glasgow.

2018 turned out to be a year of mixed blessings for the Scottish Branch. The "beast from the east" caused the first meeting of the year to be cancelled and the AGM to be held later in the year. Fortunately our speaker, Katie Halsey, was able to reschedule her talk *Looking and Seeing in Pride and Prejudice* to the 2019 AGM.

The 2018 AGM was subsequently held after the Nora Bartlett Memorial Lecture on the wedding day of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle in May. Bill Hutchings from the Northern Branch delighted us with his talk *Sharing a Carriage with Mr Elton*. The meeting was held in The Piping Centre in Glasgow where we were joined by several members of the Glasgow University Group.

The Strawberry Tea in June took the form of a visit to Dumfries House in Cumnock, Ayrshire. Although we were unable to have a tour of the house we were given complementary tickets to explore the Queen Elizabeth Walled Gardens. As always, the afternoon ended with tea in the Coach House Café. We had a special treat in August when Angela Barlow gave a talk on *Jane Austen and Aunts*. Being an actor, she beautifully dramatised the various aunts in the novels and read relevant snippets that highlighted Jane Austen's relationships with her nieces and nephews.

At the end of October we had another splendid talk from Dora Petherbridge of the National Library of Scotland, *Henrietta Liston's Diary*. Henrietta Liston (1758-1828) was a diarist and botanist. She was an informed, biased, spirited observer of the many countries she visited with her diplomat husband, Robert Liston. The talk concentrated on their North American experience. Henrietta also corresponded widely and all the letters she received are contained in the Liston papers archive. Dora kept the highlight for us until last – a letter from Charles Austen to Henrietta.

Our Birthday Lunch was held as usual at the Garvock House Hotel in Dunfermline. As well as a splendid meal we were hugely entertained by a quiz from Tom Kelly. It showed that most of us know our Austen better than the current affairs of her time.

We were very saddened by the death of three of our members this year. Each will be much missed for their own unique contribution to the Branch. Joy Murdoch, who served briefly on the committee; Sheila Sutherland, who will be remembered for her Regency dancing and Paul Bassett, Sharron's husband and our regular cheerful face selling Austen related books and memorabilia at our sales table.

Marlene Lloyd-Evans

Southern Circle

Members: 22 Subscription: £5 Newsletter: 2 single sheets p.a.

The Southern Circle held its usual two discussion group meetings during 2018, as well as meeting up at the AGM. The spring meeting took place, not in March as usual, but on the final weekend in April – the former date having to be postponed owing to snow! We discussed *Sanditon*. The autumn meeting went ahead as scheduled in October, when our topic was *Friendship*. Both topics proved very fruitful for conversation.

Our membership is mostly drawn from Surrey but we have members from further afield too, including Berkshire, Hampshire and Sussex and would welcome new members from across the southern region.

Fiona Ainsworth

South West Branch

Members: 75 Subscription: £8 Events: Members £18 non members £22 Newsletter: Pleasant Intelligence 2 p.a. distributed at meetings or emailed.

The Reverend Paula Hollingsworth started off our year with her talk *Jane Austen and Spirituality*, the title of her book. This was followed by *Jane Austen and Aunts*, the latest brilliant presentation by our dear friend, actor Angela Barlow.

We had a sparkling treat at our Spring 2018 Meeting. Dr Cheryl Kinney was visiting from The States and spoke of *Jane Austen and her Doctors*. Once again we were chilled by the obstacles to maintaining good health bravely faced by previous generations and the stoic manner in which they accepted fashionable and creative remedies as medicine sought to aid suffering humanity. Our second speaker, Fiona Stafford, has won widespread respect for her *Jane Austen, a Brief Life* and delighted us with real academic depth and understanding in her intelligent literary criticism.

Before the next meeting came round, 28 members set forth to the Midlands on our May excursion. Our first visit was to Stoneleigh Abbey where we commented on the need for signposts! We were extremely impressed by the grandeur of the entrance hall and public rooms. It was a wonderful afternoon on which to admire the grounds which give the place such a setting. Thanks to Hazel Jones' forethought the day was punctuated by the most delicious Women's Institute lunch and wicked cakes with tea in the Abbey tearooms.



South West Branch tour members visit to Stoneleigh Abbey, May 2018

I don't think we shall forget Broughton Castle in a hurry. There is a castellated wall and moat and in the Great Hall, old portraits which include the hedge-cutter in his hand-me-down heavy chamois coat and billhook. His lovingly recreated costume featured in a television programme, looking as it would have done when new. His Lordship senior was a genial presence and his son, who is now the guardian, was hospitable. We would have been satisfied with just the Long Gallery, and the many portraits with family associations for Jane Austen. But the room at the top of the house, the scene of Parliamentary intrigue in the time of Charles I, together with the shimmering English pastoral view, were unforgettable.

Other highlights of the tour: in Adlestrop church, local author Victoria Huxley gave a talk on the important family connections with this village and its two great houses, based on her book *Jane Austen and Adlestrop*. Our way home lay through Kintbury with its happy and sad memories of the Austen family. Here in the church, Theresa Lock and her daughter had prepared a fascinating presentation.

For our June meeting, Martyn and Sue Dell whisked us off to Chawton in our imaginations to enjoy hearing how the house is run and an appreciation of the Austen family quilt. We all enjoyed seeing the modern version taking shape and JASSW were very proud of our *Persuasion* themed contribution. At the meeting in October the speakers were Joe Bray whose theme was *The Narrative Voice in Austen's Novels* and Emma Clery who spoke on *Jane Austen the Banker's Sister*. Both are experts on really important and complex aspects of Austen's life and work. As is always the case we were gratified that they had journeyed down to see us and left us with food for thought from their very able presentations. Suffice it to say that Henry Austen emerged as an even racier character than I ever suspected.



Diana Shervington
10 January 1919-24 July 2018

2018 was a special year for us all and we remember our meetings and expedition with pleasure. The sadness we felt in losing our Patron, Diana Shervington on 24th July in her 100th year was deep. The Branch was well represented at the Celebration of her life which took place on 31st August at Uplyme Church near Lyme Regis. There was laughter and anecdote, and thankfulness for a life rich in years and well lived. She rests beneath the ancient yew, beside her adored husband Rupert.

Penelope Townsend

Two Author-Janes in the Early Nineteenth Century

Devoney Looser

In the spring of 1804, two women writers, almost exactly the same age and single, were living in close proximity to each other in Bath. Both were named Jane. One had recently sold her first novel, *Susan*, to Crosby & Co. The other had sold hers to the publisher Longman and Rees, who not only printed it but advertised it widely.

In fact, Longman and Rees spent exactly as much on advertising its author-Jane's novel – 10 pounds – as Crosby had paid its own Jane for the copyright to her manuscript. Inexplicably, Crosby would never print its property, but Longman and Rees' investment more than paid off. *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803) proved a bestseller. It went through seven editions by the 1820s and made its author-Jane a celebrity.

If parts of this story sound familiar, it's because the first author-Jane is well known to us: Jane Austen. Her novel *Susan*, as we know, was eventually bought back from its non-publisher Crosby. It appeared in revised form, after she died, as *Northanger Abbey* (1818). But few today recognize the second author-Jane: the once-celebrated historical novelist Jane Porter. She would go on to write a second bestseller, *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810), and became one of the foremost fiction writers of the era.¹

It's fascinating that in Bath, in 1804, Austen's and Porter's lives and paths converged so closely before they diverged so starkly. Might the two authors have found themselves in the same circle? Odds are that they would have seen each other in the Assembly rooms, the Pump Room, or the theatre at some point. It seems probable that Austen would have noticed the attention being lavished on this more famous author-Jane.² Surely, it was not lost on Austen that Porter, and not she, was the era's most famous author-Jane, from 1803 to 1817. (A third Jane, Jane West, is also a contender for that designation.)

Jane Porter was remarkable. She's all the more interesting to us because she had a sister, Anna Maria Porter, who was also a prolific novelist. The Misses Porter, as they were called, produced 26 books, countless poems, essays, plays, short stories, an opera, and their own magazine, together and separately. They were dubbed "the justly celebrated Misses Porter," the "gifted sisters." Jane Porter was declared at her death "one of the most distinguished novelists which England has produced." They deserve to be brought back into not only our stories of Austen but back into our histories.

Jane Porter's work was so popular that it inspired copycat books, including *Mac Dermot; or, The Irish Chieftain* (1810), *Bannockburn: A Novel* (1821), and *The Scottish Chieftains* (1831). Her novels were beloved by the likes of President Andrew Jackson and novelist William Thackeray and thought powerful enough to be banned by Napoleon as politically dangerous. Yet few have heard of these groundbreaking writers, despite the fact that they may have been the world's most famous literary sisters before the Brontës.

As we know, Jane Porter ended up ceding her position as her era's most famous

author-Jane to Austen. It wasn't before further strange coincidences between them transpired, however. One is that Porter accepted a literary invitation Austen had once refused. Royal Librarian James Stanier Clarke also approached Porter about writing an historical novel based on the ancestors of King George IV, formerly the Prince Regent. Unlike Austen, who famously and privately refused, Porter took the librarian's hint. She published her effort, *Duke Christian of Lunenburg* (1824), in the vain hope of securing royal patronage. Once you hear about Porter's disappointing experiences in this venture, it seems all the more fortunate that Austen said no.³

Porter's fiction, unlike Austen's, most often centres on male warrior-heroes and resembles what Sir Walter Scott once called his "big bow-wow strain." Porter rarely works on the literary canvas that Austen described as her bit of ivory, two inches wide.⁴ But that difference in method didn't stop the Porter sisters, like Scott, from appreciating Austen's fiction, both before and after they knew her identity. In the 1820s, Jane and Anna Maria so admired Austen as an author that they sought out the acquaintance of her naval brother Charles Austen, as a way to pay their respects.⁵ It's moving that the two Janes, Porter and Austen, became connected through their brothers and unfortunate that it was only after Jane Austen had died. What a shame that the two of them didn't become acquainted twenty years earlier in Bath. An account of that meeting would have been something indeed to have, from Porter's pen.

Fortunately, what survives are their published writings. Austen is deservedly thought of as the greatest novelist in the English language. There's no argument about that among Janeites! Yet we don't have to stand down from that claim to become Janeites two times over. Jane Porter, too, deserves the celebrity and critical acclaim that she achieved in the early nineteenth century. Porter, too, deserves a place in the pantheon.

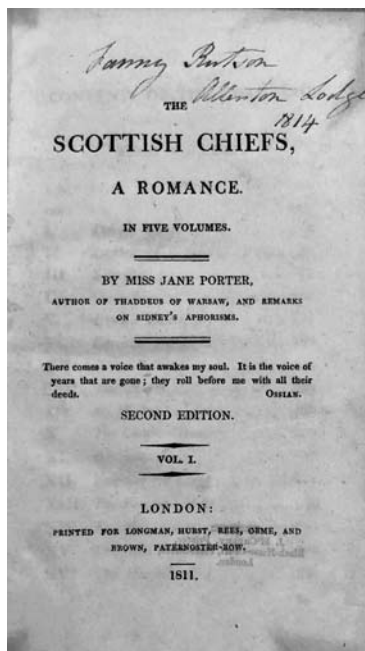
I'm now at work on a biography of the Porter sisters, with the support of a Guggenheim Fellowship and a National Endowment for the Humanities Public Scholar Award. I look forward to sharing the Porter sisters' stories with all who care about the beautiful depths and vagaries of literary history, the complex origins of the novel of manners and the historical novel, and the overdue credit we still owe to so many pioneering women.

Notes

1. *The Scottish Chiefs* has been republished in a modern edition. See Jane Porter, *The Scottish Chiefs*, ed. Fiona Price, Broadview Press, 2007. A modern edition of *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, edited by Thomas McLean and Ruth Knezevich, is forthcoming from Edinburgh University Press.
2. For more on Austen and Porter in Bath in 1804, see Devoney Looser, "Another Jane: Jane Porter, Austen's Contemporary." *New Windows on a Woman's World: Essays for Jocelyn Harris*. 2 vols., edited by Colin Gibson and Lisa Marr. U of Otago P, 2005, Vol. II, pp. 235–48.
3. On Porter's experiences with Clarke and the King on *Duke Christian*, see Devoney Looser, "Jane Porter and the Old Woman Writers Quest for Financial Independence," *Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain, 1750–1850*. Johns Hopkins UP, 2008, pp. 141–67.
4. On Porter's contributions as a historical novelist, in comparison and contrast to Austen

and Scott, see Thomas McLean, “Nobody’s Argument: Jane Porter and the Historical Novel,” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 7, no.2 (2007), pp. 88-103. See also Devoney Looser, “The Porter Sisters, Women’s Writing, and Historical Fiction.” *The History of British Women’s Writing*, Vol. 5: 1750–1830, edited by Jacqueline Labbe. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 233–53.

5. On the Austens and the Porters, see Devoney Looser and Ruth Knezevich, “Jane Austen’s Afterlife, West Indian Madams, and the Literary Porter Family: Two New Letters from Charles Austen,” *Modern Philology*, vol. 112, no.3 (2015), pp. 554–568.



Note: The front cover of this Annual Report shows a portrait believed to be Jane Porter (1776-1850). Portrait signed by H. Harding/Bond street, pencil drawing with flesh tones, 13¾ inch x 10¾ inch, within deep gilded frame, c. 1810. The old Frost & Reed ticket on the verso shows that the date of framing is 21/2/1851. There is also a clip from an old catalogue verso. Provenance: Private collection, New York. The portrait is now part of the Ievers collection and the image that appears on our cover is courtesy of Karen Ievers.

Edward Austen Knight's Descendants in Ireland

Karen Ievers
and Sophia Hillan

On 6th November, 2018, an unusual 19th century photographic album being offered for sale on eBay caught my attention. The seller, an antique photo dealer in the United States, advertised the item as follows:

George A. Hill, Earl of Hillsborough [sic], Ireland, antique personal 120+ photo album 19c. Listing is for an antique personal photo album of George A. Hill, Earl of Hillsborough [sic], Ireland. The album contains images of family, friends, nobility, as well as famous UK and Irish people of the time period. Many of the photographs are identified. There are over 120 photographs in the album. Most photographs are 2.5" x 3.5" with several larger size images (see below). Also contains hand written manuscript on back (first page is included in the scans). Extremely rare historical collection!

Origin: Ireland

Age: 1860's-70s

Dimensions: album measures 8" x 9.25"

Most of the photographs are 2.5" x 3.5"/several are cabinet size photos

Condition: several photos are missing, overall album is 90%+ complete, spine is detached (can be easily repaired) leaving it in original condition, most of the photos are in excellent condition.

Scrolling through the scanned photographs on eBay, I noted that many of them were identified by handwritten inscriptions beneath. Some of the names – such as Lord De Vesci, the Duke of Leinster, and Thomas Connolly – were familiar to me through their connection to landed gentry families in Ireland that I had come across whilst researching my husband's ancestors. The seller's asking price was set at USD 2800, well beyond my budget, but because the album was so extraordinary and connected to Ireland (where my husband was born and where we own a 287-year-old Irish Georgian house), I decided to make an offer of USD 1000, adding that this was my limit. That same evening, to my surprise, I received an e-mail from eBay that the seller had accepted my bid. Once payment was organised and anxious about so impulsive a purchase, I reverted to the scanned photos, searching for clues in the handwritten captions underneath the photographs. I googled "Lord George Hill" and found a 2011 review from *The Irish Times*, on Dr. Sophia Hillan's book: *May, Lou, and Cass: Jane Austen's Nieces in Ireland*, and read:

“On a bleak hilltop in Co Donegal is an almost forgotten headstone. Dedicated to Marianne Knight, it is overgrown with nettles and wild flowers, listing towards that of her younger sister Louisa. A few kilometres distant, in the town of Letterkenny, another grave marks the last resting place of their younger sister, Cassandra.

May, Lou and Cass, as they were known in life, were Jane Austen’s nieces; not only her nieces but favoured companions during the last 16 years of her life... She played with them, they did their sewing and reading together, and, in later life, they recorded their memories of an aunt who clearly preferred the company of children, and those of her own family, above all others.” (“Tale of Austen’s nieces related with verve”, Jerusha McCormack: *Irish Times*, 24 December 2011.)

After reading Dr McCormack’s review, it was easy to connect the dots: Lord George Hill of Ballyare was the husband of two of Jane Austen’s nieces who were themselves sisters. The more I scoured the internet for clues, the more the pieces of the puzzle fell into place. I shared my discovery with a friend in Ireland, Rose Servitova (author of *The Longbourn Letters: The Correspondence Between Mr. Collins & Mr. Bennet* - Wooster Publishing, 2017) who kindly offered to connect me with a list of scholars involved with Jane Austen studies, which is how I made the acquaintance of Dr. Sophia Hillan, author of *May, Lou and Cass*. Dr. Hillan, former Associate Director of Queens University Belfast’s Institute of Irish Studies, is a literary scholar specialising in Irish studies, to whom I am forever indebted for her invaluable assistance in identifying many of the sitters in the album. Her research on Jane Austen’s family in Ireland and our subsequent collaboration has helped me to grow in ways that I never imagined possible.

After approximately one week of anxious waiting for the album to arrive from the US, I finally received the shipment and began to investigate the album properly. On the inside album cover, the name, “George A. Hill, Ballyare”, is handwritten in pencil. Lord George Hill, born in December 1801, was not an Earl as the seller of the album had erroneously stated, but the youngest and posthumous son of Arthur Hill, 2nd Marquess of Downshire, who died some months before his son’s birth, and Mary, Lady Downshire, Baroness Sandys of Ombersley in her own right.

Lord George’s first wife was Cassandra Jane Knight, whom he married on 21st October, 1834, at St. George’s, Hanover Square in London. They had four children: Norah Mary Elizabeth, Arthur Blundell George Sandys, Augustus Charles Edward, and Cassandra Jane Louisa. Three days after the birth of their last child on March 12th, 1842, Cassandra most unexpectedly died of puerperal fever, just as her own mother, Elizabeth Bridges Austen, had in 1808. (Hillan, *May, Lou and Cass*, p.111.)

Disappointingly, there were no photographs of Cassandra in the album. In December 2018, however, a curator acquaintance of mine mentioned the existence of several miniature portraits relating to the Knight/Hill family from the Sandys collection at Ombersley, and kindly sent me an electronic file of the images in the collection as he thought they would be useful to me in my research. Among them

I found an image of Cassandra Jane, Lady George Hill, painted by the artist, Sir William Campbell Ross. Wondering if there might be other miniatures of Cassandra in circulation, I embarked on an internet search, which led me to a French art gallery where, remarkably, an almost identical miniature was for sale (shown on the back cover of this *Report*). The artist's name, Hugh Ross (younger brother of William C. Ross), appears verso. I was not about to pass up the chance to purchase the miniature of Cassandra as it occurred to me that it was serendipity that helped me to find her. Sophia Hillan quotes Charles Knight's diary of 19th October, 1834, two days before Cassandra and Lord George's wedding: "We sent off Mr. Ross the painter in a chaise by himself to Ashford to meet the coach, & soon after, about 9 o'clock we all set off in 3 carriages and a gig..." (Hillan, p. 97).

Lord George's second wife, Cassandra's older sister Louisa, was Jane Austen's goddaughter and a beneficiary in her aunt's will. On Thursday, 17th March, Louisa, accompanied by her brothers Charles and George, set off early to take the mail train to Ireland in order to assist Lord George with his motherless children, the oldest of whom, Norah, was not yet seven (Hillan, p.115). Five years later, Lord George proposed to Louisa and, despite the legal complications and difficult social conventions of the time, Lord George and Louisa were finally married on 11th May, 1847 in Wandsbeck, now part of Hamburg, but in 1847, under the King of Denmark's rule (Hillan, pp.132-134).

Louisa Hill's image appears twice in the album, both times with her son beside her. All Lord George's children feature in the album with the exception of his eldest son Arthur. There are several pages missing from the album, which could explain his absence. There are also many other photographs in the album concerning Lord George's friends and business associates, but for the purposes of the Jane Austen Society, my focus is on those associated with the Austen/Knight family.

The first page of the album contains albumen-type photographs of Jane Austen's great-niece, Lord George and Cassandra's eldest child, Norah Hill, and her fiancé, Capt. Somerset Ward, fifth son of the 3rd Viscount Bangor, of Castle Ward in County Down, around the time of their engagement. The couple were married on 26th April, 1859 (exactly 95 years after the wedding in Bath of George Austen and Cassandra Leigh). There are several more photos relating to the Ward family and another photograph of Norah Ward holding her firstborn daughter, another Norah (the future Lady Dunleath). An unidentified woman stands behind Norah Sr. and her right-hand rests protectively on Norah's shoulder.

The top portion of the following page bears the caption "Lady Knatchbull", meaning the former Fanny Knight, eldest of Edward Austen Knight's children and Jane Austen's declared favourite. This photo is unfortunately missing. Underneath the place where it should be is a very faded photo of Lord George Hill, Rev. Charles Knight, Miss Marianne Knight and Master George Hill, all standing in front of St. Nicholas Church, Chawton (with thanks to Jane Hurst for her assistance in identifying the location). (See p.33.) Young George Hill, born in 1849, appears to be around nine years of age here, dating the photograph to 1858, when Charles Knight was Rector of Chawton, having succeeded the Mr Papillon

about whom Jane Austen had so merrily teased her family in December 1808, shortly before their own move to Chawton.

The next page shows two photographs of the Knight family: the first of a relaxed and smiling Louisa, in her mid-fifties, sitting in her enormous hooped skirt next to her brother, Edward Knight Jr., then sixty-four. Next to Edward, Master George appears to be wearing the same clothes worn in the previous photo, suggesting that the photographs were taken on the same day. They appear to be sitting on a veranda: a basket with gardening utensils lies on the ground nearby.



Lady Geo. Hill. Edw^d Knight Esq^r. George Hill.
Lady George Hill (Louisa Hill née Knight), Edward Knight, Master George Hill. Chawton Rectory, August, 1858. Used by permission of Karen Ievers.

The second photograph (see p.25) shows Marianne, almost fifty-seven, seated and holding a basket of work or cuttings. Standing behind Marianne is her brother Charles, then fifty-five, and seated nearby is their young nephew George. The photograph appears to have been taken in a lovely conservatory where there are numerous plants and flowers. A bird-cage hangs above. If you look carefully behind Marianne, you can make out a fireplace mantel with a mirror hanging above it inside the rectory. Marianne surely felt great affection towards Louisa's young son George: according to her last will and testament dated 24th June, 1878, and signed in Alton, George Marcus Wandsbeck Hill was Marianne's godson and it was to him she left the bulk of her estate upon her death in Donegal in December, 1895.

Judging from photographs already in existence, it would be safe to assume that the location of the above two photographs is indeed Chawton Rectory (with thanks to Jane Hurst in identifying the location). Again, there are gardening utensils on the ground, testament to the Knights' love of gardening. It seems plausible that the Hill family made the trip from Donegal to Alton in the summer of 1858 in order to attend the wedding of Georgina Knight to Frederic Pretymann which, as Sophia Hillan tells us, took place in August 1858 (Hillan, p.166).



*Marianne Knight, Rev. Charles Knight, Master George Hill,
Chawton Rectory, August, 1858. Used by permission of Karen Ievers.*

The next photograph is captioned “Miss Scott, Rev. Charles Knight, and Mrs. Miller”. This photograph is explained in a separate article in this Report by Jane Hurst. Underneath is another photograph of Louisa with her son George, on the veranda of Chawton Rectory. George appears to be holding in his hands a popular Victorian children’s toy, the diabolo.

On the next page is a photo titled “Rev. C. Knight, Miss Cassandra Hill, Master G. Hill”, which is also described in Jane Hurst’s article (p.32). Cassandra, who is sixteen in the photo, and her young half-brother George remained close to each other throughout their lives and ended up sharing a house together in Foxrock outside Dublin (Hillan, pp.226-227). They both died unmarried and childless.

Underneath is a photograph, not shown here, of a lone sitter: Augustus Charles Edward Hill, second son of Lord George and Cassandra. The location of the photograph cannot be ascertained but he appears to be a young man. If this was taken at the same time as the previous photos, then he would have been nineteen years old. According to the Morning Post of 19th December, 1908, Augustus died from injuries he received on 3rd November when he was knocked down and run over by a taxi cab in Lower Grosvenor, London. A jury later found that the death was accidental. Augustus was sixty-nine at the time of his death and, like his younger sister and half-brother, died unmarried and childless.

The next Austen/Knight-related photos in the album are portraits of Somerset and Norah Ward, and Somerset’s mother, Lady Bangor. Somerset and Norah had four children together: Norah Louisa Fanny who married Henry Lyle Mulholland and became Lady Dunleath of Ballywalter Park, Somerset Jr., George and Crosbie. Somerset Senior saw service in the Crimean War & Indian mutiny, was J.P. for County Down, and briefly but fatefully, as Sophia Hillan has pointed out, land

agent on his brother-in-law Arthur Hill's Donegal estate at the time of the bitter Land War in Ireland during the 1880s (Hillan, pp.191-194). The Wards lived for many years at Isle O'Valla house in Strangford, though at the time of Somerset's death in 1912, their address was Carrowdore Castle in Co. Down.

The next two photos in the album are from the Chawton House wedding of Elizabeth Knight (eldest surviving daughter of Edward Knight Jr. and his second wife Adela Portal) to Capt. Edward Bradford (later Sir Edward Bradford, 1st Baronet). The photograph's handwritten caption dates the wedding to 1865 but this appears to be an error as according to newspapers archives, their marriage actually took place on Tuesday, 17th July, 1866, and was officiated by the Rev. Charles B. Knight and the Rev. Morland Rice, son of Elizabeth (Lizzy) Knight, second daughter of Edward Austen Knight. The wedding party photos give us a rare glimpse of Edward Austen Knight's children as they approached their twilight years. Of his eleven children, nine were still alive in 1866: Henry as well as Cassandra Jane having passed away. Both George and Charles would die the following year.



*Wedding of Elizabeth Knight to Capt. Edward Bradford.
Chawton House, 17th July, 1866 (not 1865 as is incorrectly written
underneath photo). Used by permission of Karen Ievers.*

The next group of Austen Knight photos seem of the *carte-de-visite* type. There are two photographs of an adult Norah Ward, her eldest son Somerset, who would die young, and a rare photo of an elderly Fanny Knatchbull wearing a bonnet. There is a cdv captioned "G.M.W. Hill" and it depicts Marianne Knight's godson as an adult in his barrister attire. On the next page is a photograph of a portrait titled "Mrs. Edward Knight", the former Mary Dorothea Knatchbull, Fanny Knatchbull's stepdaughter with whom Edward Jr. scandalously eloped in 1826. The painting shows Mary in all her finery and on her left hand, her wedding band is clearly visible. Next to this in the album, there is a cdv of an elderly Edward

Knight Jr. seated in a fringed chair whilst holding a document. On the bottom portion of the page are photos of Edward's daughters from his two wives: the first is a small photo of Elizabeth Bradford née Knight and the second is of Georgina Pretymann, apparently pregnant. Between the Hill/Sandys family photos is a cdv of Augustus Hill in his military uniform, sabre by his side. Another cdv shows, as a small child with a family dog, Cicely Hill, daughter of Lord George and Cassandra's son Captain Arthur Hill and his wife Helen Emily Chenevix Trench, daughter of the Archbishop of Dublin. There are several more family photographs of Somerset and Norah Ward with their children, the Wards' staid expressions perfectly capturing the essence of 19th c. photography.

At the opposite end of the photo album is an unusual 13-page manuscript. It appears to be written in two different handwriting scripts on watermarked paper, reading: "G. Jones 1810": G. Jones being Griffith Jones of Nash paper mills in Apsley. Twelve pages of the above-mentioned manuscript are texts in French relating to the French Revolution, of which I am waiting for more details. The final page, written in English, is a quotation from the work of poet George Keate. The handwriting of this poem and on several of the other pages closely resembles the existing handwriting samples of Marianne Knight.

Lord George Hill's album has clearly not revealed all of its secrets yet. It is my sincere hope that continued research on the album, in Ireland and in the UK, will reveal even further insights into the lives of those closest to Jane Austen.

Sophia Hillan adds a further note on the interconnected Dunleath and Ievers/Hill archives:

Karen Ievers' marvellous discovery has drawn me back to the story I began to uncover as far back as 2006, and which I continue to explore. Since the publication in 2011 of *May, Lou and Cass*, I have been privileged to work with the descendants of Lord George and Cassandra, and to be given access to new and unseen material, including memoirs, diaries and photographs in the Dunleath archive, held by Edward Austen Knight's five-times great-grandchildren. Working now also with Karen on her remarkable find has encouraged me to look with fresh eyes at material I already had, and to be struck by the almost startling link the Ievers/Hill collection makes between the portraits and sketches of Jane Austen's time and the pioneering days of photography. In the Ievers/Hill photographs, for example, we can see at the time of her engagement to Somerset Ward the young Norah Hill, Cassandra and Lord George's eldest child, described at fifteen by one of her English cousins as "the prettiest as well as the nicest girl I ever saw". In both the Ievers/Hill album and the Dunleath collection, however, we can see Norah Hill Ward ageing, the serenity of her young face giving place to an expression that shows the effects of life's sorrows, not least the loss of her eldest son, Somerset Jr., at twenty-five, a loss which I had previously failed to note and to which Karen Ievers most helpfully directed me. Indeed, one of the most remarkable features of the Ievers/Hill photographs is that they perfectly complement and sometimes overlap images in the Dunleath family archive, some taken by Norah Ward Dunleath, herself a keen

amateur photographer, tracing the family's progress through the late Victorian and into the Edwardian age.

Here, for example, courtesy of Jane Austen's five times great-niece Cassandra Wedd, the Dunleath photographs show us a group photograph of four generations, all descendants of Norah Hill Ward, now a stern-looking old lady with her equally elderly husband, Somerset Ward. With them we see their daughter Norah Ward, Lady Dunleath, son-in-law Henry Lyle Mulholland, Lord Dunleath; the Wards' granddaughter Eva Mulholland Saunderson, with her husband John Saunderson, son of the founder of the Unionist Party, Edward Saunderson; and a new great-grandchild, Helena Saunderson. The Mulholland sons, not present in that photograph, served in the Great War, the eldest dying at Ypres: Norah Dunleath subsequently opened the family home as a military convalescent home for the rest of the war. Eva Saunderson's private memoir and diaries, which I have been privileged to see, tell most vividly, and sometimes surprisingly, some delightful stories of those we see in both albums. Eva, born in 1884 and living until 1972, was forbidden to read the novels of Jane Austen, but clearly remembers her great-aunt Marianne Knight – the child Jane Austen describes bringing to the theatre on her twelfth birthday in 1813 – gathering up her skirts and jumping over a stile in an Irish country lane when she was ninety years old, quite in the style of the young Elizabeth Bennet.



left to right – Norah Ward, Capt. Somerset Ward, Eva Mulholland Saunderson with her baby Helena, Eva's husband John Saunderson, Lord Dunleath (Henry Lyle Mulholland), Lady Dunleath (Norah junior).

Image comes from the Dunleath archive by permission of Cassandra Wedd.

That Dunleath group photograph (interestingly, taken on a timer by Eva's mother Norah Dunleath herself) is at one level a family group in a garden, a white sheet draped against a hedge to give the necessary contrast. Yet it not only captures four generations of Austen women spanning the Victorian and Edwardian eras, but also serves as a reminder that the marriages of the two Norahs into the great Northern Irish political families – the Wards of Castle Ward, the Mulhollands/Dunleaths of Ballywalter, and through the Mulholland sons, the Brookes of Brookeborough – meant that the family would go on to shape and dominate the politics and society of Northern Ireland of the first half of the twentieth century.

The Dunleath collection also contains a remarkable photograph of Lord George and Cassandra's youngest child, Cassandra Jane Louisa Hill, who knew her mother for only three days. This photograph quite strikingly resembles the miniature Karen Ievers has discovered. It shows a woman in her forties who, though never quite sure of the roof over her own head, still strove against considerable local opposition to redress the poverty of women workers in Donegal, opening in 1883-4 a convalescent home for working women "regardless of creed or party". She succeeded, and kept it going for upwards of twelve years, setting an example for her niece Norah: but she lost her own home in the end when, like many Irish country houses, Ballyare House was sold to the Land Commission. Living just into the twentieth century, she died at fifty-nine in 1901 in Dublin, where she is buried beside her younger half-brother George. This photograph shows a woman who has faced the world; it is in marked contrast to the Ievers/Hill image (on which Jane Hurst elsewhere comments) where we can see Cassandra Hill at sixteen, her life as a young Emma Woodhouse seemingly marked out for her, sitting on the lawn at Chawton Rectory by her uncle Charles Knight and her much-loved little brother George.



Cassandra Jane Louisa Hill

Image comes from the Dunleath archive by permission of Cassandra Wedd.

These extraordinary images not only enhance and illuminate the story of Jane Austen's nieces and their descendants, but also make a unique contribution to the social history of the nineteenth century, and indeed to the history of photography. Through one family story we see the glory and decline of the landed estate, and the slow emergence of a new kind of politics. Such a record belongs also to women's history, showing their slow emergence from the passivity imposed during Queen Victoria's reign, to the more active roles necessary in the new century. And best of all, thanks to the careful stewardship of the Dunleath family and the diligent research of Karen Ievers, we can see as we gaze at these images Jane Austen's family looking back at us as if to say: she was one of us, and these were our lives.

Revd Charles Bridges Knight and Chawton's Earliest Photographs?

Jane Hurst

The more one does research – the more strange coincidences seem to occur as the following example will show. I am a Volunteer at Chawton House and recently heard that a marvellous old photograph album had come to light and that it had Knight/Austen family connections. The internet link¹ took me to the story of how Karen Ievers had acquired the album and it showed some of the pictures. The first one which caught my attention had the caption ‘Miss Scott, Revd C Knight and Mrs Miller’ – all three surnames are local to the area around Chawton and its market town, Alton.



Miss Scott, Revd Charles Knight, and Mrs. Miller. This image is part of the Lord George Hill album and reproduced by permission of Karen Ievers.

‘Revd C Knight’ was Charles Bridges Knight, fifth son of Jane’s brother Edward Knight. Charles came to Chawton to become the Rector in 1837 and, fortunately, left behind some diaries which I had already studied at Jane Austen’s House Museum (CHWJA.JAH409.1-11). Poor Charles found the life of a country parson hard - at the end of 1838 he recorded his feelings about his new parishioners saying that ‘*I have been frequently disgusted with their plausibility, hypocrisy(?), ingratitude, and immorality, and have felt inclined to give them up as incorrigible, but I know that is wrong, and have therefore corrected myself, but these things certainly prevent my feeling the interest I ought in them, for I cannot prevent looking with distrust on all or almost all!*’ Reading on through his jottings, I began

to feel that I was getting to know the man but never thought that I would, one day, meet him face-to-face - so to speak.

The name '*Mrs Miller*' was very familiar as I worked in the village of Froyle for many years and their 'big family' were the Millers. Charles Hayes Miller had been born in 1829 and, in 1856, he married Katherine Maria Scott, daughter of James Winter Scott and Lucy Jervoise Scott of Rotherfield Park (which is south of Chawton). The '*Miss Scott*' must have been one of Katherine Maria's sisters - Lucy Gertrude, Elinor or Dora Caroline.

The Austens/Knights had known the Millers for many years. In 1813, Jane Austen's niece Fanny and sister Cassandra had paid a visit to them in Froyle and Jane wrote in a letter dated 8-9th September, 1816, '*Sir Tho: Miller is dead. I treat you with a dead Baronet in almost every letter.*'² Sir Thomas was the 5th Baronet and the grandfather of Charles Hayes Miller. In September 1844, Revd Charles Knight drove his niece Gertrude to Froyle to call on Revd Thomas Combe Miller, 6th baronet and father of Charles Hayes. Calls were also made to the Scotts at Rotherfield Park with Revd Charles walking around the grounds and commenting that it was '*a very pretty place & improves wonderfully*' in 1832 and driving '*At [Aunt]Cass to Rotherfield*' in 1840.

From the above information, it became possible to narrow down the date of the photograph. The Miller/Scott marriage was in 1856 and Mrs Miller became Lady Miller in 1864 when her husband became the 7th Baronet. Hence the picture was taken in the late 1850s or early 1860s and the background could possibly show one of the arches on the side of Miss Scott's home of Rotherfield.

The second photograph, '*Rev.C.Knight. Miss Cassandra Hill. Master G Hill*', shows Revd Charles, Cassandra Hill (great niece of Jane Austen) and her half brother George Hill. (see below, p.32.) The group are sitting near the front door of Chawton Rectory with the older section of the building behind Charles. This part, with its lower roof, can be seen covered in ivy in the 1910 postcard shown for comparison at the end of this article. Artistically arranged near the group are gardening tools and a cart.

The chairs are on a path which is probably the one that Rev Charles talked of in March 1838 when he said that '*The men were laying down the flagstones in front of my house today*' and on the wall behind could be some of the roses that he probably bought from Shillings in 1845. George Hill seems to have a diabolo in one of the photographs. Although these were popular in the Regency period, Jane seems to have preferred a cup-and-ball.

Charles Knight was a keen gardener and often mentioned the grounds in his diary. As soon as he arrived in Chawton, he recorded that '*My father, Edward & I marked out the approach to my house in the afternoon.*' A little later he spoke to Dyer the Alton builder '*& talked to him about making me a porch to my house.*' Part of the latter can just be seen on the right of the photograph.

One of the earliest jobs that Rev Charles had done was to cut down all the shrubs that were not evergreen and grub out the roots with help from men from the village. He then replanted bushes and trees '*from Hammond*'. Later he had

'roses and other things just come from Shillings'. This firm was probably the one referred to by Jane on 14th June 1814 when she wrote '*The new Nursery Man comes this mornig, to value the Crops in the Garden.*'³ Certainly Jane's brother Edward used Shillings for many plants as did the nearby Jervoise and Dumaresq families.



Rev. Charles Knight, Miss Cassandra Hill & Master George Hill. Photograph taken outside Chawton Rectory most likely in August, 1858. This image is part of the Lord George Hill album & reproduced by permission of Karen Ievers.

A photograph (shown in the preceding article, p. 24) shows *Lady Geo Hill, Edward Knight Esq and George Hill* outside a bay window. This can also be seen in the postcard of Chawton Rectory, as can the conservatory, which just appears on the right of the later picture. Another photograph (p.25) shows *Miss Knight, Rev C Knight, George Hill* where Miss Knight is Charles's sister Marianne, who lived with him until his death. Looking at all the potted plants, it seems likely that the group were in the conservatory or, as Rev Charles called it, the '*garden house*'. From the diaries, it seems that he made great use of it.

On 16th February 1846, Rev Charles wrote:

*'I garden'd a little after breakfast it being a lovely day. I put out two little roses and a cyclamen that had been standing in pots in the **garden house**, and put sticks to some narcissuals that were drooping. I also sowed in a pot a dozen or more of the Bokhara Clover seeds that Uncle Frank sent me, and put the pot in a corner under the wall facing East under the shade of a wall flower. I gave Willm Knight a few of the same seeds to put in a pot for Adela.'* Adela was the second wife of his brother Edward, and 'Willm Knight', no relation, was a servant.

The following January he reported that '*My hyacinths were taken out of the leaves in the cold frame, & are to be brought into the house when I have got pans for the pots*' and in the November, '*Adela and I potted crocus and narcissus and Jonquil bulbs in moss for the winter. I set them in my study.*'



*Family members outside St Nicholas Church, Chawton, 1858.
(See p.23.) Used with permission of Karen Ievers.*

As so often happens when researching, one resource can inform another and add to the story although I never thought that I would ever ‘meet’ Revd Charles Bridges Knight.



A postcard showing Chawton Rectory c1910.

Notes

1. www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6580879/Extraordinary-photos-Jane-Austens-family-discovered.html.
- 2.. Deirdre Le Faye (2011), *Jane Austen's Letters*, OUP (Letter 145).
- 3 Jane Hurst (2000), ‘The new Nursery Man’, *JAS Report for 2000*, page 21.

Fanny Palmer Austen's Accounts: Her Pocket Diary for 1814

Sheila Johnson Kindred



Fanny Palmer Austen by Robert Field, 1810
Courtesy of a private collection

Sometimes a small, everyday object proves to be revelatory of the owner's activities, attitudes and values. Such is the case with a pocket diary of Fanny Palmer Austen,¹ wife of Jane Austen's brother Charles. Although Fanny's letters provide a profile of many aspects of her unusual life as the wife of a naval officer,² the notations in her pocket diary reveal interesting details about her domestic activities, including her attention to her children's needs, her commitment to economies and her generous nature. As such, it is a valuable primary source for coming to know Fanny and telling her story.

In late December 1813 or early in the New Year, Fanny acquired a small pocket diary, bound in red leather. Bearing the impressive title, *The Pocket Magnet, or Elegant Picturesque Diary for 1814*,³ Fanny was to use it as a memo book to record in pencil her household accounts and additional information in the memoranda section at the back. Unfortunately, it has suffered from extensive erasing on pages from March to the end of July, but even so, it remains an intriguing source of information about Fanny's undertakings.

Her pocket diary is most informative for the months of January and February, a time when Fanny happened to be largely away from the 74 gun *Namur*, and where

since 1812 she had been making a home for Charles and their young daughters. There were several reasons for being on shore. During January 1814 the weather was brutally frigid. The Thames froze over and a great Frost Fair was held for days on the ice. These conditions forced Fanny and her daughters Cassandra, Harriet and Fanny, ages 5, 3 and 2, to stay on after a Christmas visit to her parents on Keppel Street in London. Then in February, Fanny and Charles paid a courtesy visit to the Sheerness home of his superior, Admiral Sir Thomas Williams and his wife, Lady Williams, followed by another courtesy call on Commissioner and Mrs Lobb of the Sheerness Naval Yard. Given these circumstances, Fanny's January and February purchases reflect her perception of what she would need when back on the *Namur*, but she was also purchasing items and services for her family's immediate well being.



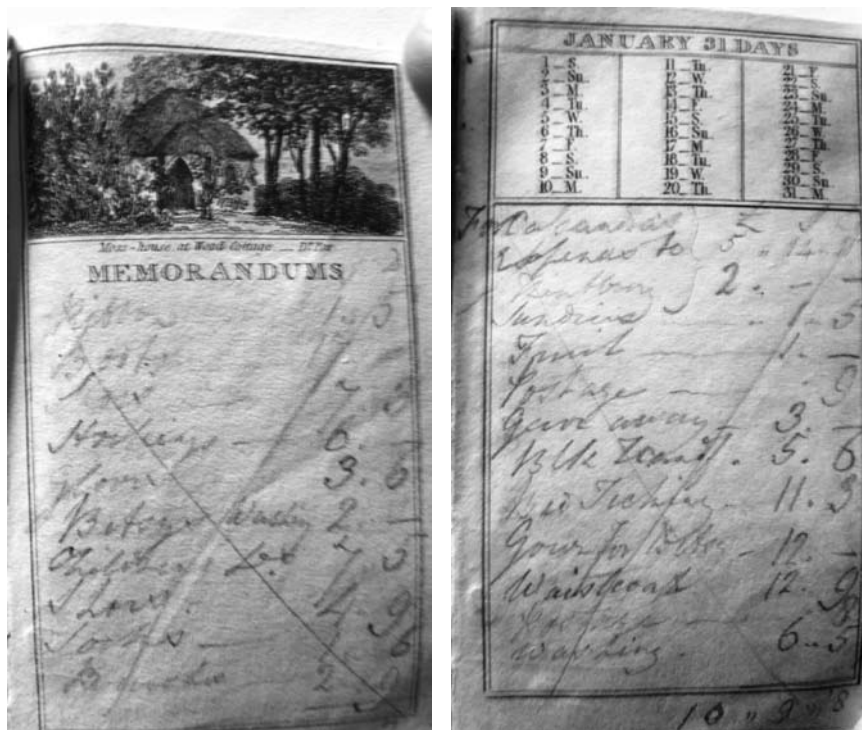
The pocket diary

Fanny carefully recorded each item and its cost. At the time British currency was denoted in pounds (£), shillings (s), and pence (d). There were 12 pence in a shilling and 20 shillings in a pound. Items bought by Fanny that were useful for on-board living included brushes (2s 6d), bed ticking (11s 3d) and furniture cotton (£1 13s 6d). Laundry was a regular necessity. There are eight separate entries for laundry: washing in general, also specifically for her children's clothes, items belonging to Betsy, her nursemaid, and her own silk stockings. We know that Fanny favoured white clothing as was the custom of genteel ladies of the Regency Period.⁴ Such preferences of dress entailed frequent laundry. Fanny's expenditures for washing over these two months was £2 15s 3d.⁵

Fanny also purchased items to wear. There are entries for footwear: boots, three purchases of shoes (15s 3d), and socks (1s 6d). Fanny also brought gloves (3s 6d), a gown for Betsy (12s), a waistcoat (12s 9d), possibly for Charles, and ribbons (1s 5d), probably for one of Fanny's many sewing projects.⁶ She included in her accounts the cost of binding books (17s) as well as postage (1s 7d), and packet letters (2s 1d), presumably for her letters to Bermuda.⁷ These are not surprising items as this was a reading family and one who valued close communication by letters with absent members.

Fanny's notebook has few entries concerning food purchases other than a can of bulk tea (5s 6d), sugar (2s.10d) and butter (3s 4d). Omissions may be due to the number of weeks she stayed in other people's houses – with her own parents in January and the Williams and the Lobbs in February. In addition, while on board

she most likely shared in Charles's standard naval rations, so confined her own purchases to better quality fresh foodstuffs, and items which were not part of naval issue.⁸ She did budget for some healthy treats, namely fresh fruit (5s 2d), as well as less nutritious but tasty ones, such as cakes (1s 9d). She also bought toothbrushes (5s) in order to ensure good dental hygiene.



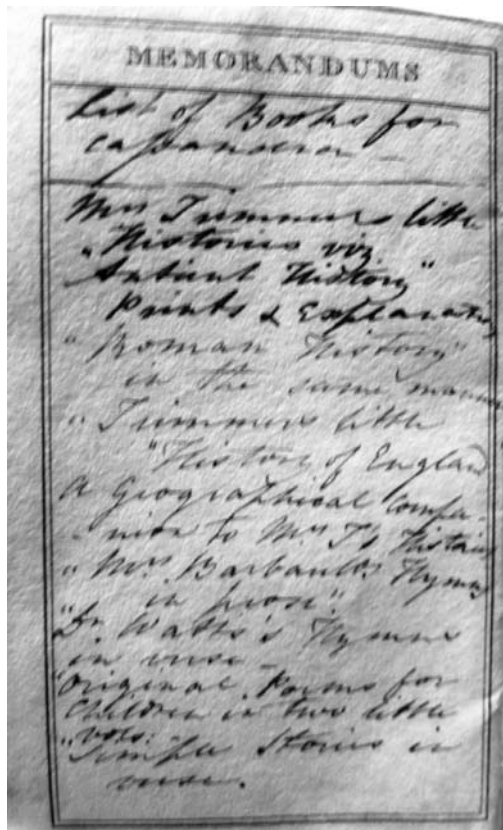
Fanny's accounts for January 1814

The catch-all category of “Sundries” accounts for expenditures of 15s in January and February. What she included in this classification is anyone's guess! Fanny's total expenditures for January and February amounted to £20 12s 10d.

Fanny's caring attitude towards her daughters is reflected in several entries. By June, it was necessary to purchase shoes for little Fan (2s 8d), her youngest daughter. Her eldest, Cassy, was funded for a trip to Kintbury, Berkshire at the cost of £2. As Cassy was very prone to sea sickness, she was often on shore under the care of her aunt Harriet in London or Cassandra and Jane Austen at Chawton Cottage in Hampshire. Presumably Cassy had been staying in Chawton during January and had accompanied one of her aunts to Kintbury. They would most likely be visiting Rev and Mrs Fulwar Fowle, who had close ties with the Austens.⁹

Mothers of Fanny's class were expected to begin their children's education at home. At an early age a little girl was taught to read, to spell, to write grammatically,

to learn plain sewing, to understand the principles of the Christian religion, and to display good manners and good sense. Fanny apparently intended to take her role as educator seriously, even though Cassy had earlier shown signs of being a reluctant scholar.¹⁰ Her "List of Books for Cassandra" included *Mrs Trimmers Little Histories: Ancient History, Roman History and the History of England*, as well as *A Geographical Companion to Mrs Trimmer's Histories*, together with printed maps, keys and explanations. Fanny also had French books in mind and listed her choices as *St Quintin's first Grammar* and *Brossert's first Grammar*. Perhaps Jane Austen recommended the St Quintin volume as he had been a master at the Ladies Boarding School, Reading, which she had attended at the age of nine. Religious teachings were to be introduced by way of *Mrs Barbauld's Hymns in Prose* and *Dr Watt's Hymns in Verse*. Fanny also chose *Original Poems for Children in 2 vols* and *Simple Stories in Verse* as a means of introducing literature into the curriculum. Fanny may have considered these books as an investment as daughters Harriet and Fan would become students in due course, and another child was expected in September.



List of Books for Cassandra

Fanny was once more in London at her parents' home in May, some of June and July 1814 as measles had got among the children of the *Namur* and she did not want her three girls infected. Unfortunately, there are 19 erasures in the first section for May, although entries for shoes for child (10s 3d), cakes (11s 6d) and washing (2s) are still detectable. Only two items are identifiable for early June: toy (6d) and cakes (6d). Late June entries are more informative: coach hire (5s 6d), washing for Capt. Austen (13s), shoes for Fanny (2s 8d), washing (4s 11d), ribbons (8d) and cakes (6d). Thus, Fanny was making the same sort of purchases as she had done earlier in the year. Based on entries which can be deciphered, her total expenditures for May came to £3 0s 6d and for June, £4 18s 7d.

From the totals for January, February, May and June, we know that Fanny spent £29 5s 11d.¹¹ This is a partial picture of her domestic accounts for the first half of 1814, but her choices suggest Fanny's commitment to economies. Her expenditure for gloves is close to that spent by her sister-in-law, Jane Austen, who was a canny and careful shopper. Jane paid 4 shillings for gloves in 1811;¹² Fanny paid 3s 6d in 1814. Jane Austen purchased black ribbon (1s 1d) to trim her lilac sarsenet dress in March 1814.¹³ The same year Fanny bought ribbons twice (2s 1d), likely for use in trimming clothing she was making.

Fanny's letter of 5 February 1814 makes explicit reference to her financial prudence. She told her sister Harriet in London that she will not be ordering "very handsome velvets [from Holland] at about 4 Guineas¹⁴ a dress," as she and Charles are currently cash poor.¹⁵ Although Charles's salary on the *Namur* was £500 per annum, given Admiralty pay practices he would most likely not be paid a portion of his current salary until as late as March of the next year.¹⁶ Moreover, his posting to the *Namur* would be ending in October 1814 so it would be prudent to have something put aside for the future in case he did not get another ship and found himself on shore on half pay.¹⁷

Irrespective of Fanny's attention to careful spending, several entries suggest gift giving and generosity. According to her accounts, Fanny spent £20 12s 10d in January and February. Nonetheless, during those months she bought a gift for her sister, Esther, in Bermuda, described as "Cap for Mrs Esten" (£1 4s.), and provided a gown for Betsy, her nursemaid (12s), and she also paid for Betsy's washing (2s). She "gave away" 17s 6d, presumably to those in need. Fanny was also diligent in her search for bargain prices for fresh foods for the London Palmer family. For example, her letters mention purchases of fish and eggs¹⁸ and her pocket diary notes that "Miss Palmer [her sister Harriet] has settled for the ham and butter," items that Fanny had acquired on her behalf.

A mysterious entry, which is not dated, occurs on a memorandum page. Fanny recorded that she "lent Mr. RP £4." A possible candidate for this largesse was Fanny's only brother, Robert John Palmer, an officer in the British army.¹⁹ He was incarcerated in a prisoner of war camp in Verdun, France where a prisoner's level of comfort depended on his financial resources. If Fanny could get money to him, even as a loan, this would be beneficial for him, but it would also be evidence of her generosity.

Practical, caring, economical and generous: Fanny's pocket diary records choices which suggest she had these traits. She also appears to have been a resourceful housewife. It is a great pity that so much of her diary was defaced by erasures. However, more than enough of it remains to give us an intriguing look into Fanny's domestic and family oriented world.

Notes

- 1 I am grateful for access to study Fanny's pocket diary provided by the late David Gilson, its then owner, and Chris Viveash.
- 2 The letters are transcribed and contextualized in Sheila Johnson Kindred, *Jane Austen's Transatlantic Sister: The Life and Letters of Fanny Palmer Austen*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017 [hereafter *JATS*].
- 3 It measures about 10 cm wide and 7cm long.
- 4 Recall that Jane Austen described Fanny in October 1813 as looking "as neat and white as possible this morning" See *Jane Austen's Letters*, 4th ed., ed. by Deirdre Le Faye, 15 October 1813, 249 [hereafter *Letters*].
- 5 Subsequently Fanny paid 17s 11d for laundry services in June.
- 6 Alternatively, it would be nice to think the ribbons were intended to decorate her daughters' tresses.
- 7 In 1814 two of Fanny's chief correspondents, her sister, Esther, and her husband, James Esten, were living in Bermuda.
- 8 He regularly received rations of beef, pork, biscuit, oatmeal, pease, sugar, cheese, butter and beer.
- 9 Cassandra had been engaged to Rev. Fulwar Fowle's nephew, Tom, who died of yellow fever in 1797. Fulwar's son, Thomas (1793-1822), was already known to Cassy from his time as a midshipman aboard Charles Austen's sloop, the *Indian*, and later as a Lieutenant on board Charles's vessel, the *Namur*.
- 10 In early October 1813, Fanny had reported to her brother-in-law, James Esten: "Cassy begins now to read very prettily, but I have had an amazing deal of trouble with her not owing to a dullness of comprehension but a dislike to learning." See Fanny to James Esten, 4 October 1813, *JATS*, 127.
- 11 She spent £8 13s 1½ d in May and June, making a total for four months of £29 5s 11½d.
- 12 See Robert Hume, "Money in Jane Austen," *Review of English Studies* 64, (2012), 291.
- 13 See Austen, *Letters*, 6 March 1814, 269.
- 14 A guinea was worth one pound and one shilling.
- 15 See Fanny to her sister Harriet Palmer, 5 February 1814, *JATS*, 148.
- 16 For Admiralty pay practices, see *JATS*, 94.
- 17 Half pay was not literally half but a fixed stipend, according to rank and at a minimal amount.
- 18 See Fanny to Harriet, 6 February 1814, *JATS*, 149.
- 19 If this is so, it seems odd she would refer to him in such a formal way, yet such terminology was expected, even within families. Elsewhere in the diary she writes: "Miss Palmer has settled for the ham and butter." This is a reference to her sister Harriet.

*‘Good friends and neighbours’:
Mary and Cassandra Leigh in Bath*

Hazel Jones



*The Abbey Green, Church Street and part of the Abbey.
Victoria Art Gallery, Bath.*

A glimpse of two women of the Leigh family is given in letters written from Bath by a Cornish clergyman in the spring of 1766. The Revd John Penrose had made the long journey from his parish of St Gluvias, Penryn, with his wife and eldest daughter Fanny, in search of a cure for chronic gout. They found lodgings at Mr Grant's house in Abbey Green, from where Fanny wrote the first letter home, describing their accommodation: 'Our Lodgings are excessive handsome, we have a Parlor and two lodging rooms all down stairs, which is very convenient, as Papa is not able to walk.'¹

Although confined largely to his rooms for several days, John Penrose discovered that he was not to be overlooked by the company in Bath. A stream of acquaintances and complete strangers called, among them, 'Two ladies, who lodge in the first Floor over our Heads, daughters of Dr. Leigh master of Balliol College in Oxford, the elder one married to a Clergyman of great Fortune, of the same name'.² The latter was Thomas Leigh, Rector of Adlestrop and Broadwell, who had married his cousin Mary Leigh in 1762. Now thirty-five years of age, Mary had come to Bath with her unmarried sister Cassandra, aged twenty-two. They were the only children of Anne (*née* Bee) who was to die that October and Dr Theophilus Leigh, uncle to yet another Cassandra Leigh, to whom he is often credited with introducing her future husband, George Austen.

Whether the Leigh ladies were in the city for health or for amusement is not known, but they proved more conversant with lodging-house practices than the

Penroses, who had assumed that the resident servants would clean, shop and cook for them. An inexperienced girl of twelve was taken on as maid-of-all-work, and while she settled into her position the Leigh sisters, ‘exceedingly kind indeed, have offered to help us in all our Needs, and the Assistance of their Servants’.³

Mary and Cassandra were particularly considerate to twenty-four year old Fanny, ‘with such civility as proceeds merely from goodness of Heart, and not from the constraints of Politeness and Good-breeding,’ Penrose enthused in a letter to the children left behind in Penryn, ‘tho’ no Ladies possess these latter in higher degree’.⁴ Cassandra accompanied Fanny to a ball and to the Theatre Royal in Orchard Street, where they saw *The Jealous Wife* and the *Farce of The Honest Yorkshireman*. Mary walked with her in ‘King’s Mead, and the Square, and ... the new and finer Part of the City’⁵ and all three crossed the River Avon on the ferry to attend a public breakfast in Spring Gardens. The sisters were no less attentive to the Revd Penrose and his wife, conducting the former to the Pump Room, issuing and accepting invitations to tea and dining with them ‘on cold Shoulder of Mutton and Tarts from the Pastry Cook’s’ on the evening before their return to Oxford. Such easy companionship would be much missed:

‘We shall come to a great Loss. No Ladies could behave with more Civility and Kindness. They have made us a Present of the Remains of their Householdstock, a little Salt, a little Vinegar, 2 large Pieces of candle, half a Lemon, some Ink, and a Pack of Cards.’⁶

‘Poor Fanny’ rose early the following morning to see her friends off on the Oxford coach. ‘We shall be very sorry, to lose so good friends and neighbours’,⁷ Penrose had written two weeks before, when he had learnt of the ladies’ departure date and indeed, the two ‘Ladies from London’, the next occupants of the Leighs’ rooms at Abbey Green, proved unneighbourly in comparison. ‘This morning your Mamma and sister sent up a Ticket to Mrs. Marsh and Miss Graham ... welcoming them to Bath,’ Penrose reported, ‘and with a Compliment of waiting on them, if agreeable: they sent for Answer, that Mrs. Marsh was at present disordered with Lowness of Spirits’.⁸

Meanwhile, ‘a most obliging Letter’⁹ arrived, informing Fanny of the Leighs’ safe arrival in Oxford, which served to farther condemn the disobliging ‘Ladies from London’:

‘I cannot say much of the Sociableness of Mrs. Marsh and Mrs. Graham. The chief, almost the only Communication we have with each other, is, that I lend them my *London Chronicle*, and they lend me their *Daily Gazetteer*.’¹⁰

What we know of the Leigh sisters’ later lives comes from a variety of sources, many of which bear out the Revd Penrose’s assessment of their characters. As Mary’s husband Thomas Leigh wrote after her death, she was ‘one of the most affectionate of wives & most agreeable cheerful and entertaining of companions’.¹¹ She was also a writer of unpublished novels, ‘highly moral and entertaining, on which she spent more time than accorded with her health’¹² and of a short manuscript history of the Leigh family, completed in 1788, which Jane Austen undoubtedly read on her visits to Adlestrop Rectory. Mary’s description of the Austen family must have

pleased her, despite the very slight reference to herself and her sister:

‘Cassandra, (the second daughter of Thomas Leigh & Wife of the truly respectable Mr Austen) has eight children: James, George, Edward, Henry, Francis, Charles, Cassandra & Jane. With his sons (promising to make figures in life) Mr Austen educates a few youths of chosen friends and acquaintances. When amongst this liberal society, the simplicity of hospitality & taste which commonly prevailed in affluent families among the delightful valleys of Switzerland, ever recur to my memory.’¹³

What Mary read, or perhaps experienced, of Switzerland evidently influenced her own hospitable attitude to the Penrose family in Bath. She is not mentioned in any of Jane Austen’s extant letters, but it is likely that her death in 1797 would have merited some kind of comment had any correspondence from that year survived.

Cassandra Leigh married in 1768 the Revd Samuel Cooke of Great Bookham, later godfather to Jane Austen. Mrs Cooke features in a number of Jane’s letters, as an author impatient to see her novel *Battleridge* (published 1799) in print; holidaying in Bath with her husband in April 1805; as a good mistress to her servants; being ‘very dangerously ill’ in 1809 and afterwards suffering a ‘nervous’ complaint that made her over-reliant on her daughter’s company; as a tourist at Brighton in her sixty-ninth year and as an admiring reader of *Mansfield Park*.¹⁴ Jane’s regret on having to sacrifice Great Bookham on her way to and from Kent and her delight in anticipating a visit there – ‘I have a most kind repetition of M^{rs} Cooke’s two or three dozen Invitations, with the offer of meeting me anywhere in one of her airings’¹⁵ – point to Cassandra Cooke’s continuing kindness and generosity.

Notes

1. *Letters from Bath: 1766 - 1767 by the Rev. John Penrose*
With an introduction and notes by Brigitte Mitchell & Hubert Penrose. Alan Sutton 1983. April 9th 1766, (p.24)
2. *Ibid.* April 11th (pp.27 - 28)
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.* April 13th (p.29)
5. *Ibid.* April 18th (p.40)
6. *Ibid.* April 29th (p.70)
7. *Ibid.* April 19th (pp.42 - 43)
8. *Ibid.* May 3rd (p.81)
9. *Ibid.* May 6th (p.92)
10. *Ibid.* May 16th (p.119)
11. Cited in *Jane Austen & Adlestrop*. Victoria Huxley. Windrush Publishing, 2013. (pp.32-33)
12. *Jane Austen’s Letters*. Collected and Edited by Deirdre Le Faye. (4th Edition) Oxford University Press, 2011. (p.548)
13. Cited in *Jane Austen & Adlestrop*. (pp30-31)
14. Letters 10, 44, 67, 70, 89, 101.
15. Letter 95.

How much Income Tax did Jane Austen pay?

John Avery Jones

Jane Austen's mature writing coincides exactly with the first era of income tax, from Pitt's unsuccessful income tax of 1799, through Addington's far more successful tax of 1803 that is still the basis of our income tax today, and she lived to see the automatic abolition of income tax following the ending of the Napoleonic War in 1816. While she did not mention income tax in her novels, any more than she mentioned the Napoleonic War, she was obviously aware of it as a taxpayer herself, as I hope to demonstrate; and also through her brother Henry being Receiver-General of Taxes for Oxfordshire from 1813 which included land and assessed taxes and income tax (then known as property tax¹). Mentions of any type of tax in her novels are few and far between and consist only that Mrs Ferrars' Norfolk estate, which was settled away from Edward on his brother Robert (with Lucy Steele following the money and marrying Robert), brought in £1,000 clear of *land tax*;² and that Sotherton Court had more rooms 'than could be supposed to be of any other use than to contribute to the *window-tax* and find employment for housemaids.'³ A last tax reference in one of her letters is that she rode in a '*tax-cart*' which should be 'taxed cart.'⁴ This qualified for a low rate of the assessed tax⁵ on carriages and must have been most uncomfortable as the definition required it to have no springs.⁶ Such are the total of the references to tax.

Income from writing

We first need to establish Jane Austen's income from writing that was received in time to be taxed before income tax was abolished on 6 April 1816 (as we shall see below). We know that out of her earnings she bought £600 Navy 5% bank stock, generally known as Navy Fives. She left a manuscript note headed *Profits of my Novels, over & above the £600 in the Navy Fives*,⁷ of which this is a transcription:

Residue from the 1 st Edit: of Mansfield Park, remaining in Henrietta St—March 1816	£13 7s
Recd from Egerton, on 2d Edit: of Sense & S—March 1816	£12 15s
Feb: 21. 1817 First Profits of Emma ⁸	£38 18s
March 7. 1817 From Egerton—2 ^d Edit: S&S	£19 13s

One can add a further fact that Henry's bank, Austen, Maunde & Tilson (a partnership) ceased trading and went into bankruptcy on 15 March 1816 and her claim in the bankruptcy was for £25 7s which is only 15s less than the first two items. The bank's office was in Henrietta Street⁹ and so the wording of the first item suggests that this is what was left in the bank account in March 1816 from

the first edition of *Mansfield Park*, which was probably paid in March 1815, after purchasing Navy Fives.¹⁰ As this was an undated stock the price of which varied we need to establish when, and for how much, she bought them in order to determine her earnings.

Jane Austen bought £300 nominal of Navy Fives on 15 July 1813 and another £300 on 18 July 1815. That is a sentence I never expected to be able to write as this fact has previously eluded researchers, but I found the information without difficulty in the Bank of England archives.¹¹ The previous draft of this article contained two and a half pages of deduction about when she might have purchased them which, although turning out to be completely wrong (I was looking at a single purchase in late 1815 or early 1816), at least led me to the same index in the Bank of England archives as contained the right information. It is interesting that on neither of these dates was she in London but in the top left of the stock ledgers for both purchases (see Illustration¹²) the names 'HT Austen, H Maunde & J Tilson' (the partners in Henry's bank) appear¹³ indicating that they held a power of attorney for her in relation to the purchase. Although the stock transfer form has a place for the purchaser and a witness to sign, 'I [*space for name*] do freely and voluntarily ACCEPT the above Interest or Share transferred to [*space for me or us*],' in neither case was this completed, and this omission does not seem to have been uncommon.¹⁴

Having established the dates of the purchases and obtained copies of the stock transfers to her (see Illustration), one might have expected that these would contain the prices that she paid but this was not so; the prices were contained in a separate register that has not survived.¹⁵ I have therefore used the quotation in *Course of the Exchange* of a range for the day of the first purchase of '85⁵/₈ a 7⁷/₈ a 3³/₈ a 5⁵/₈.' Taking the middle price they would have cost about £257.¹⁶ By that time we know that she had earned £250 (£110 from the sale of the copyright of *Pride and Prejudice*,¹⁷ and £140 from *Sense and Sensibility*),¹⁸ so that is a very good match. Might Henry have rounded up the purchase price, and also, as we shall see, agreed to advance the tax on this?

By the time of the second purchase of Navy Fives on 18 July 1815 she had received the bulk of her earnings from *Mansfield Park*, probably in March because she received a payment from Egerton for *Sense and Sensibility* in March 1816 and 1817, suggesting that he made payments in March. On 18 July 1815 the highest and lowest quote for Navy Fives was '84⁷/₈ a 83⁷/₈,' so taking the middle price they would have cost about £253.¹⁹ However, we should not treat this as the earnings from *Mansfield Park* because the receipt will be taxable and so the tax will need to be retained before the balance is invested. I will return to this after setting out how it would be taxed.

Income tax

Three income tax rules are important for our purposes: first, that the income from a profession for a tax year was measured by the income of the previous tax ('the preceding year basis'²⁰), in contrast to a trade which was based on the average

of the profits of the previous three years.²¹ I shall assume that she carried on a profession but I shall consider the possibility of trade below because she took the publishing risk. There are rules for the first year when there is no preceding year 'in the Cases of setting up and commencing such Profession...' ²² but I am assuming that these are inapplicable because she started her profession in 1803 when the copyright of *Northanger Abbey* (then *Susan*) was sold to Benjamin Crosby & Co, and was even advertised as being 'in the press,' although it was never published.²³ Secondly, authors are always taxed on the basis of cash receipts because there is no reliable way of estimating receipts at an accounting date. Thirdly, in the early years of income tax the deduction for expenses 'wholly and exclusively' incurred was strictly interpreted. Today an author would expect to be allowed a deduction for a proportion of the cost of heating and lighting at her home while writing, but Jane Austen would not have been able to deduct anything for the cost of coal and candles. This interpretation is based on a Guide to the tax published in 1807 anonymously but clearly written within the tax department which gives as an example that 'the wages or board of a servant [in a trade] sometimes employed in domestic purposes or a part thereof cannot be deducted; but the wages and board of a book-keeper, etc wholly employed in trade, may'; and another example prohibiting the deduction by an apothecary of the cost of keeping a horse which he used both for visiting his patients and for other purposes that 'no deduction can be made for the expense of his keep, although he alleges he should not keep a horse if it were not for his business.'²⁴ One can understand why. This was a new and unpopular tax and they wanted to discourage people claiming excessive deductions by prohibiting any deduction at all except in the most straightforward case. One potential deduction would be the presentation copy of *Emma* for the Prince Regent in red morocco binding costing 24s but by the time she received the profits from *Emma* income tax had been abolished. Applying these rules gives the following result.

The copyright of *Pride and Prejudice* was sold in November 1812 for £110 and 'the Money is to be paid at the end of the twelvemonth,'²⁵ that is December 1812 which is in the tax year 1812/13. Under the preceding year basis this would be taxed in 1813/14.

Sense and Sensibility was published in October 1811; by May 1812 sales had covered the production costs so that she started to be entitled to payments. Because Egerton made payments in March 1816 and on 7 March 1817 for the second edition it is reasonable to assume that the first payment of £140 was in March 1813, which is also in the tax year 1812/13. This would fit in with her making the first purchase of Navy Fives in July 1813.²⁶ It would also be taxed in 1813/14.

The £250 profit on these two would be taxed in 1813/14 at £25 payable by two instalments on 5 January 1814 and 5 July 1814.²⁷ I should mention that there was then no equivalent of today's personal allowance. At that time the whole was taxable at 10%²⁸ but there was an exemption for incomes under £50²⁹ with a taper giving reduced rates of tax for earned income of up to £150.³⁰ It does not look

Navy FIVE per Cent. Annuities. Page 15.

N^o 7723 *I Isaac Cooper of the Bank of Exchange Gent*
Pharmacy this *Eighteenth* day of *July* in the Year of our
LORD One Thousand Eight Hundred and *Seventy* do ASSIGN and TRANSFER
Three hundred Pounds of my }
Interest or Share in the Capital or Joint Stock of FIVE per CENT. ANNUITIES, (vested by an Act of Parliament of the 24th }
Year of the Reign of His Majesty King GEORGE III. intituled, An Act for granting Annuities in partly certain Navy, Victualling }
and Transport Bills, and Outgoing Debentures, and by other subsequent Acts) transferable at the Bank of England unto }
James Austen of Chawton Hants Esquire }
James Austen Executors, Administrators, or Assigns. Witness my Hand }
Witness *Roberts* }
I do freely and voluntarily ACCEPT the above Interest or Share transferred to me }
Witness

[illegible]

1066 1/2 St. Austen, Cornwall. 30th Decem. 1850

1004 July 5 W. L. 141 300

Jane Austen, of Chawton.

103 1008 Long B. 1850 300

104 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047 1048 1049 1050 1051 1052 1053 1054 1055 1056 1057 1058 1059 1060 1061 1062 1063 1064 1065 1066 1067 1068 1069 1070 1071 1072 1073 1074 1075 1076 1077 1078 1079 1080 1081 1082 1083 1084 1085 1086 1087 1088 1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095 1096 1097 1098 1099 1100 1101 1102 1103 1104 1105 1106 1107 1108 1109 1110 1111 1112 1113 1114 1115 1116 1117 1118 1119 1120 1121 1122 1123 1124 1125 1126 1127 1128 1129 1130 1131 1132 1133 1134 1135 1136 1137 1138 1139 1140 1141 1142 1143 1144 1145 1146 1147 1148 1149 1150 1151 1152 1153 1154 1155 1156 1157 1158 1159 1160 1161 1162 1163 1164 1165 1166 1167 1168 1169 1170 1171 1172 1173 1174 1175 1176 1177 1178 1179 1180 1181 1182 1183 1184 1185 1186 1187 1188 1189 1190 1191 1192 1193 1194 1195 1196 1197 1198 1199 1200 1201 1202 1203 1204 1205 1206 1207 1208 1209 1210 1211 1212 1213 1214 1215 1216 1217 1218 1219 1220 1221 1222 1223 1224 1225 1226 1227 1228 1229 1230 1231 1232 1233 1234 1235 1236 1237 1238 1239 1240 1241 1242 1243 1244 1245 1246 1247 1248 1249 1250 1251 1252 1253 1254 1255 1256 1257 1258 1259 1260 1261 1262 1263 1264 1265 1266 1267 1268 1269 1270 1271 1272 1273 1274 1275 1276 1277 1278 1279 1280 1281 1282 1283 1284 1285 1286 1287 1288 1289 1290 1291 1292 1293 1294 1295 1296 1297 1298 1299 1300 1301 1302 1303 1304 1305 1306 1307 1308 1309 1310 1311 1312 1313 1314 1315 1316 1317 1318 1319 1320 1321 1322 1323 1324 1325 1326 1327 1328 1329 1330 1331 1332 1333 1334 1335 1336 1337 1338 1339 1340 1341 1342 1343 1344 1345 1346 1347 1348 1349 1350 1351 1352 1353 1354 1355 1356 1357 1358 1359 1360 1361 1362 1363 1364 1365 1366 1367 1368 1369 1370 1371 1372 1373 1374 1375 1376 1377 1378 1379 1380 1381 1382 1383 1384 1385 1386 1387 1388 1389 1390 1391 1392 1393 1394 1395 1396 1397 1398 1399 1400 1401 1402 1403 1404 1405 1406 1407 1408 1409 1410 1411 1412 1413 1414 1415 1416 1417 1418 1419 1420 1421 1422 1423 1424 1425 1426 1427 1428 1429 1430 1431 1432 1433 1434 1435 1436 1437 1438 1439 1440 1441 1442 1443 1444 1445 1446 1447 1448 1449 1450 1451 1452 1453 1454 1455 1456 1457 1458 1459 1460 1461 1462 1463 1464 1465 1466 1467 1468 1469 1470 1471 1472 1473 1474 1475 1476 1477 1478 1479 1480 1481 1482 1483 1484 1485 1486 1487 1488 1489 1490 1491 1492 1493 1494 1495 1496 1497 1498 1499 1500 1501 1502 1503 1504 1505 1506 1507 1508 1509 1510 1511 1512 1513 1514 1515 1516 1517 1518 1519 1520 1521 1522 1523 1524 1525 1526 1527 1528 1529 1530 1531 1532 1533 1534 1535 1536 1537 1538 1539 1540 1541 1542 1543 1544 1545 1546 1547 1548 1549 1550 1551 1552 1553 1554 1555 1556 1557 1558 1559 1560 1561 1562 1563 1564 1565 1566 1567 1568 1569 1570 1571 1572 1573 1574 1575 1576 1577 1578 1579 1580 1581 1582 1583 1584 1585 1586 1587 1588 1589 1590 1591 1592 1593 1594 1595 1596 1597 1598 1599 1600 1601 1602 1603 1604 1605 1606 1607 1608 1609 1610 1611 1612 1613 1614 1615 1616 1617 1618 1619 1620 1621 1622 1623 1624 1625 1626 1627 1628 1629 1630 1631 1632 1633 1634 1635 1636 1637 1638 1639 1640 1641 1642 1643 1644 1645 1646 1647 1648 1649 1650 1651 1652 1653 1654 1655 1656 1657 1658 1659 1660 1661 1662 1663 1664 1665 1666 1667 1668 1669 1670 1671 1672 1673 1674 1675 1676 1677 1678 1679 1680 1681 1682 1683 1684 1685 1686 1687 1688 1689 1690 1691 1692 1693 1694 1695 1696 1697 1698 1699 1700 1701 1702 1703 1704 1705 1706 1707 1708 1709 1710 1711 1712 1713 1714 1715 1716 1717 1718 1719 1720 1721 1722 1723 1724 1725 1726 1727 1728 1729 1730 1731 1732 1733 1734 1735 1736 1737 1738 1739 1740 1741 1742 1743 1744 1745 1746 1747 1748 1749 1750 1751 1752 1753 1754 1755 1756 1757 1758 1759 1760 1761 1762 1763 1764 1765 1766 1767 1768 1769 1770 1771 1772 1773 1774 1775 1776 1777 1778 1779 1780 1781 1782 1783 1784 1785 1786 1787 1788 1789 1790 1791 1792 1793 1794 1795 1796 1797 1798 1799 1800 1801 1802 1803 1804 1805 1806 1807 1

*Copies of some of the records of Jane Austen's Navy Fives.
Reproduced by kind permission of the Bank of England.*

as if she held back anything for the tax as on my calculations she invested more than £250 in Navy Fives. Henry, as Receiver-General of taxes for Oxfordshire from July 1813, having previously been Deputy Receiver-General, would know all about tax and its payment dates so it is surprising that he did not allow for this. Might he have agreed to allow her an overdraft at his bank to pay the tax knowing that this would be partly repaid from the interest (after tax³¹) on the Navy Fives, which was payable on 5 January and 5 July, leaving a balance of just under £12 to be repaid out of her next earnings?

Mansfield Park was published in April 1814 with all of the (probably) 1,250 copies being sold within 6 months, and we can infer from other payments Egerton made in March³² that she received payment in March 1815, in the tax year 1814/15. (The timing of the main payment was unfortunate because if she had received it after 5 April 1815 there would have been no tax, as we shall see below.) She would be assessed in 1815/16 with tax being paid by two instalments on 5 January 1816 and 5 July 1816. No doubt Henry was by then wiser about retaining the tax before investing. Providing for the overdraft, the future tax and ignoring future interest on the Navy Fives implies that the payment from Egerton was £309 14s 2d, rounded-up to £310,³³ which after retaining tax of £30 19s 7d and repaying the overdraft of £11 19s would leave £253 8s 10d to invest. I should add that this figure cannot be exact because until the £300 nominal of Navy Fives were bought the exact cost would not be known so the difference between the payment and the cost of the Navy Fives will never be exactly equal to the tax and the overdraft. This would mean that she was free to spend the future interest on the Navy Fives. I can illustrate this by the hypothetical bank statement for Jane Austen at Henry's bank in the Appendix. (I had to work this backwards but Henry would have started knowing the £310 figure from which the tax is easily worked out.³⁴).

The calculation makes a number of assumptions. First, that the interest on the Navy Fives before the payment for *Mansfield Park* remained in the account to reduce the overdraft. Secondly, interest from that time was paid out so that Jane Austen had the money to spend. My reasons are first, Jane's cash account for 1807 which records that from a legacy of £50 she spent £13 19s 3d on clothes and £9 15s 11½d on laundry,³⁵ and secondly, Letter No 70 ('I am sorry to tell you that I am getting very extravagant & spending all my Money...').³⁶ These might indicate that when she had some additional money she was likely to spend some of it, particularly because when staying with Henry she was going to dinner parties and the theatre and presumably needed something better than her country clothes. Against this is that after the collapse of Henry's bank we know that the interest on Navy Fives was retained in her new bank account at Hoare's and was there on her death.³⁷ However, by then there had been a loss on the second edition of *Mansfield Park* and of the balance in Henry's bank and she was saving up for the publication of *Persuasion* and *Northanger Abbey*. Thirdly, and unusually, I have assumed the payment of the second instalment of the tax on *Mansfield Park* before its due date of 5 July.³⁸ This fits well with the other figures to leave the known balances of the residue remaining from that book in March 1816 of £13 7s and the balance in the bankruptcy. Lastly, I have ignored overdraft interest which would total only about 1s 7d because the figures are small.³⁹

Accordingly I estimate the profits from *Mansfield Park* to be £310.

There have been at least three other estimates for her earnings from *Mansfield Park*. First, Henry wrote a draft letter to Murray on 20 or 21 October 1816, which he was too ill to send, saying that Jane had made more than £450, which is what Murray was offering for the copyright of *Emma*,⁴⁰ from a small edition (750 copies) of *Sense and Sensibility* and a moderate one (probably 1,250 copies) of *Mansfield*

Park,⁴¹ which implies that, as *Sense and Sensibility* made £140, *Mansfield Park* made *more than* £310. The problem of relying on this is that Henry was the sort of person who might well exaggerate to increase the price in the course of a negotiation, although it does not look as if he did.

Secondly, Chapman, based on likely print numbers, said that ‘There is no difficulty in believing that the total yield of [*Mansfield Park*] was as much as £320.⁴² Thirdly, Jan Fergus⁴³ refined this by making an estimate based on contemporary printing costs of another publisher, Longman, whose records have survived, that would result in £389, from which an unknown amount for advertising (Murray charged £50 for advertising *Emma*) and additional trade discounts (for example a free copy for every 24 taken⁴⁴) need to be deducted before calculating the author’s share. This might therefore be £339 assuming that there were no additional trade discounts. Interestingly this is almost the same as my estimate of £337 on the basis that Jane Austen commenced her profession for tax purposes in 1812-13, although from the tax point of view I consider this to be less likely.⁴⁵ Both of our methods contain some unknown factors but mine has the advantage of being based on the actual purchases of Navy Fives, which is information not available to her. The estimate may also suggest that Egerton’s expenses were higher than Longman’s.

Accordingly my answer to the question posed in the title is that I estimate that she paid income tax of about £56.

Before leaving income tax I must return to the possibility that she carried on a trade of publishing rather than a profession of authoress in which case she would be taxed on the basis of a three-year average of profits. Because she took the whole of the publishing risk might that mean that she was carrying on a trade of publishing? Although today this would probably be the case⁴⁶ because for tax what you do is more important than why you do it, I doubt if at the time she would have been. First, the idea of her being ‘in trade’ would have been very shocking, as Mr Gardiner’s trade was initially to Mr Darcy. Secondly, except when they purchased the copyright outright (as Egerton did for *Pride and Prejudice*), or they agreed to pay the expenses and share the profits (but not the losses⁴⁷) with the author, publishers did not always take the whole publishing risk. Publishing on commission, which Jane Austen adopted for all the other books (and Cassandra did after her death) under which the author took the publishing risk was a known, though not particularly popular,⁴⁸ way for an author carrying on a profession to earn money. The other way was collecting the cost of publishing by subscription with the subscribers being listed in the book,⁴⁹ the publisher taking 10%, and the author taking the whole profits. But if publishing on commission is not a trade for tax purposes the downside is that there would be no relief for losses. This almost occurred, although after income tax was abolished, with the first profits of *Emma* which would have been £221 6s 4d but for the fact that Murray deducted the loss on the second edition of *Mansfield Park* of £182 8s 3d.⁵⁰ But as there was a balance of £38 18s paid to her (and another payment in the same year from Egerton) there was no overall loss in the tax year.

I have repeated my calculations on the basis that she might have been trading and taxed on the three-year average basis. This results in lower tax, first, because at the beginning there are two years of nil profit in the average, and secondly, it results in income under £150 for which there is a further relief. The trade necessarily started in 1812/13 resulting in the rules for the opening years applying. On this basis it would reduce my estimate of earnings from *Mansfield Park* to £297.

The abolition of income tax

Fortunately for Jane Austen this is as far as we need look for her tax affairs. Income tax automatically came to an end on the 5 April following the definitive peace treaty,⁵¹ the Treaty of Paris of 20 November 1815, that is on 5 April 1816. The possibility of retaining income tax but at a lower rate was debated in Parliament but it was not to be. The government therefore lost over 21% of its tax receipts overnight.⁵² As *The Times* said:

With heartfelt joy we offer our congratulations to the country, on a victory as important as any that was ever obtained over the military Despot of Europe—a victory over the fiscal despotism of the income tax...We are delivered, we and our posterity, from a fiscal inquisition. Never more will a British Minister dare to propose the subjecting his countrymen in time of peace to so odious and galling an oppression.⁵³

The abolition coupled with the preceding year basis of taxation means that payments to Jane Austen after 5 April 1815 were not taxable. The receipt from Egerton totalling £12 15s in March 1816, in the tax year 1815/16, were not therefore taxable. This was fortunate because the loss of this money in the bankruptcy of Henry's bank would not have affected her liability to income tax on the receipt.

Further receipts

To complete the story of her literary earnings, *Profits of my Novels* records two further payments, one from Murray on 21 February 1817 of £38 18s from *Emma* and the other from Egerton on 7 March 1817 of £19 13s for the second edition of *Sense and Sensibility*, making the total after the purchase of the Navy Fives up to £84 13s. The total receipts in her lifetime will be a mixture of taxable receipts and those after the abolition of income tax. These amount, on my estimate, to around £631 before tax (while tax was in force),⁵⁴ or £575 after tax. The latter is in accordance with *Profits of my Novels* which was written after income tax had been abolished and so she probably regarded it as a temporary blip during the Napoleonic War.

There were further receipts after her death of £784 11s from Murray⁵⁵ and £210 from Bentley in 1832 for all the copyrights,⁵⁶ making a total of about £1,626 before tax,⁵⁷ or £1,570 after tax.

Finally as a postscript to her claim in the bankruptcy of Henry's bank for £25 7s I can record that her estate received half of this in 1843, some 26 years later.⁵⁸

Appendix

*Hypothetical bank statement for Jane Austen with Austen, Maunde & Tilson*⁵⁹

Date	Description	In			Out			Balance		
1800s		£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
31/12/12	Egerton for <i>P&P</i>	110	0	0				110	0	0
07/03/13	Egerton for <i>S&S</i>	140	0	0				250	0	0
15/07/13	First purchase £300 Navy Fives				257	4	0	-7	4	0
05/01/14	Tax <i>P&P</i> and <i>S&S</i> first instalment				12	10	0	-19	14	0
05/01/14	Interest £300 Navy Fives (after tax)	6	15	0				-12	19	0
05/07/14	Tax <i>P&P</i> and <i>S&S</i> second instalment				12	10	0	-24	8	11
05/07/14	Interest £300 Navy Fives (after tax)	6	15	0				-18	14	0
05/01/15	Interest £300 Navy Fives (after tax)	6	15	0				-11	19	0
07/03/15	Egerton for <i>MP</i>	309	14	2				297	15	5
05/07/15	Interest £300 Navy Fives (after tax)	6	15	0				304	10	5
05/07/15	Interest taken out				6	15	0	297	15	5
18/07/15	Second purchase £300 Navy Fives				253	8	10	44	6	7
05/01/16	Tax <i>MP</i> first instalment				15	9	10	28	16	10
05/01/16	Interest £600 Navy Fives (after tax)	13	10	0				42	6	10
05/01/16	Interest taken out				13	10	0	28	16	10
06/03/16	Tax <i>MP</i> second instalment				15	9	10	13	6	11
	Residue from <i>MP</i> remaining							13	6	11
07/03/16	Egerton for (2nd ed)	12	15	0				26	2	0
	Further expenditure to balance				15	0		25	7	0
15/03/16	Bank closes: claim in bankruptcy							25	7	0

Notes

1. While Pitt's 1799 income tax (39 Geo 3 c 13) granted 'certain duties upon income,' Addington's 1803 income tax (43 Geo 3 c 122) was a 'Contribution... from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices' partly to distance it from Pitt's unsuccessful tax, and was therefore known as property tax. Addington's tax at half the rate of Pitt's 10% raised almost the same amount of tax. Henry's debt to the Exchequer as Receiver-General was £44,445 10s 6d by 14 March 1816, the day before his bank failed (1817 HC 98, 95).
2. *Sense and Sensibility* ch 37 (my italics). Land tax, dating from 1688, was the main direct tax in the 18th C and had become a tax with a fixed quota for each town, parish etc. It was originally charged at 4s in the £, ie 20% of the expected rent, but this was not revalued. Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* published in 1776 (incidentally within three months of Jane Austen's birth) suggested that the greater part of land in England was not rated at half the actual value (V.ii.f.7 (Glasgow edition)); and there had been considerable inflation since then. Land tax continued until 1963.
3. *Mansfield Park* ch 9 (my italics). Under (1803) 43 Geo 3 c 161 Sch A window tax rose from 6s for 6 windows to £83 for 180 windows, increased to 6s 6d and £93 2s 6d by (1808) 48 Geo 3 c 55.
4. Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen's Letters* 4th ed (Oxford, OUP, 2011) ('Jane Austen's Letters'), Letter 78.
5. The assessed taxes were on windows, inhabited houses, male servants (the tax on female servants having been abolished in 1792), carriages, horses, dogs, and clocks and watches.

6. The definition is in (1795) 35 Geo 3 c 109 s 2.
7. Available at <https://janeausten.ac.uk/manuscripts/pmpprofits/1.html> ('Profits of my Novels').
8. From Murray, see <https://digital.nls.uk/jma/gallery/title.cfm?id=72> for a copy of the cheque. The payment would have been £221 6s 4d but a loss to date on *Mansfield Park* 2nd ed of £182 8s 3d reduced this to the amount in the list (in fact the cheque is for 1d in addition to the amount listed). These amounts can be seen in the extracts from Murray's ledgers in Jane Aiken Hodge, *Only a Novel: The Double Life of Jane Austen* (Endeavour Press, 1972), plates between 168 and 169.
9. In Covent Garden, which has a blue plaque that Jane Austen stayed there in 1813-14.
10. I am grateful to Professor Jan Fergus for persuading me of this interpretation and for a number of comments on the draft. I had previously thought that the first item was a second payment for *Mansfield Park* in March 1816 which involves assuming that it missed the March 1815 payment presumably because a bookseller was late paying Egerton. This is a less probable interpretation. The interpretation in the text gives full effect to the words 'residue...remaining' in Henrietta Street, when the next item also remained there without this being stated. The difference between these interpretations is small because if there were a second payment the calculation of the first payment would need to be smaller for the bank account to have the same balance at the time of the bankruptcy, see n. 33.
11. The information has previously been noted in the Latest News section of the Society's website.
12. I gratefully acknowledge the enormous assistance I received from several members of the archives department and from the Information Centre. The references to these in the Bank of England's archives are: AC27/5232 – Stock Index Ledger Navy 5% Annuities A, 5 Jul 1807 - 5 Jul 1814, AC27/5288 Stock Index Ledger Navy 5% Annuities A, 5 July 1814 - 5 Jul 1822, AC28/19407 - Stock Book Transfers: Navy £5% Annuities, 29 Jan 1813 - 25 Aug 1813, and AC28/19672 - Stock Book Transfers: Navy £5% Annuities, 9 May 1815 - 23 Jan 1816.
13. In the case of the second purchase these are crossed out and the next name is Messrs Hoare who held a power of attorney for the transfer by Cassandra as Jane's executor to herself.
14. Even when Cassandra, as Jane's executor, transferred Jane's holding of these £600 Navy Fives, to herself on 7 October 1817, her attorney who signed the transfer did not complete this section (Bank of England archives reference AC28/19761 - Stock Book Transfers: Navy £5% Annuities, 22 Jul 1817 - 26 Mar 1818). On 30 September 1817 Cassandra paid £1 1s 6d (of which £1 was stamp duty: (1815) 55 Geo 3 c 184 Sch Pt I) for a Letter of Attorney for the transfer of £600 of stock (Chronology 30 September 1817) which saved her from signing the form personally at the Bank of England.
15. Contracts for buying and selling Bank stock (which would contain the price) had to be registered with the Bank of England and the transfer made within 14 days under (1698) 8&9 Will 3 c 20 s 34.
16. Published by James Wetenhall by authority of the Stock Exchange Committee (Wetenhall), 16 July 1813. The quotation in *The Times* for the following day was the same but with only one $\frac{5}{8}$ %. I have added $\frac{1}{8}$ % to the price for brokerage. I have not attempted to add anything for the difference between the bid and offer prices particularly as I am working with the middle price. The range, rounded to the nearest pound, would be £256 to £258.
17. The copyright was sold in November 1812 and 'the Money is to be paid at the end of

- the twelvemonth' (Jane Austen's Letters, Letter 77). This must mean at the end of 1812 otherwise she could not have invested it in July 1813.
- 18 She wrote to her brother Francis on 3-6 July 1813 saying that *Sense and Sensibility* had 'brought me £140,' and that she had 'now written myself into £250,' which includes the sale of the copyright of *Pride and Prejudice* received in December 1812. Jane Austen's Letters, Letter 86.
 19. Wetenhall see n. 16 18 July 1815. *The Times* for the following day gives the same quote. As before I have added $\frac{1}{8}\%$ to the price for brokerage, and I have not attempted to add anything for the difference between the bid and offer prices. The range, rounded to the nearest pound, would be £252 to £255.
 20. This basis continued for some types of income until 1996.
 21. This basis continued until 1926 when it changed to the preceding year basis.
 22. (1806) 46 Geo 3 c 65 s 112, Second Case, r 2.
 23. Chronology Spring 1803.
 24. *Guide to the Property Act* (London, J Gold, 1807), 38, 165.
 25. Jane Austen's Letters, Letter 77.
 26. She told her brother Francis on 3-6 July 1813 that it 'has brought me £140' (Jane Austen's Letters, Letter 86) implying that she had received the money. It is possible that she received it after 5 April 1813, which would affect the tax year, but that would not fit in with Egerton's known payment dates which are all in March. As far as we know she had not written to Francis since February (Letter 83, if that is to him) so the July letter does not imply that she had only just received the money.
 27. Strictly the tax was payable by 4 instalments on 20 June, 20 September, 20 December 1815 and 20 March 1816 ((1806) 46 Geo 3 c 65 s 192) but (1808) 48 Geo 3 c 41 III third provided for the two instalments in the text which fitted better with the assessing procedure. However this was not 'to impeach or affect' the quarterly payment dates. I understand this to mean that in practice half-yearly payments apply unless there were circumstances in which the Revenue wanted to enforce the quarterly dates strictly. Whichever dates apply makes no difference to my calculations.
 28. As mentioned, Addington's tax started at 5% but was increased to 6.25% in 1805 and to 10% in 1806.
 29. Reduced from £60 to £50 in 1806 which caught out many people who had declared income of just under the previous limit of £60.
 30. (1806) 46 Geo 3 c 65 s 173.
 31. Tax under Sch C was deducted from interest on Government securities from 1806 after Pitt's death as he had been strongly against it. There is an example in Chronology 6 August 1805 of Mrs George Austen (Jane's mother) being assessed to income tax on income from Consols in the period before tax was deducted.
 32. Profits of my Novels.
 33. On the alternative interpretation in n.10, the March 1815 payment from Egerton would be £294 17s 5d to which needs to be added the assumed March 1816 payment of £13 7s, giving a total of £308 4s 5d which is not materially different. I have not therefore made other calculations based on this interpretation.
 34. I said (see text at n 22) that I did not think that the commencement rules applied but if they did the tax would be greater as effectively the first year is taxed twice. This would increase my estimate of the earnings from *Mansfield Park* on the same basis to £337. A reason against these rules applying is that no provision for tax was made when the first purchase of Navy Fives was made when the tax was already due on 1 July 1813, which Henry, as Receiver-General of Taxes for Oxfordshire, would have known.

35. An extract is illustrated in Patrick Piggott, 'Jane Austen's Southampton Piano' in *Jane Austen Society Reports 1976-1985* at 147.
36. Jane Austen's Letters, Letter 70.
37. There were three payments of interest on £600 Navy Fives on 9 July 1816, 8 January 1817, and 9 July 1817 (see Chronology), all now with no tax deducted, making the £45 balance at Hoare's bank recorded in the Legacy Duty Account on her death. The original Account is in The National Archives IR 59/4. A picture of an extract from it is in the Jane Austen Society Report for 1967, 38.
38. Might Henry have paid the tax early so as not to leave his sister out of pocket when the bank closed? But if he did that why did he allow the Egerton payments to go into the account, unless this was automatic?
39. The maximum rate under the usury laws was 5% by the Usury Act 1713 (13 Ann c 16), which is very strange when Navy Fives were yielding at least 5.8% at the time of the purchases. In the bankruptcy Henry's bank failed to recover a debt from Lord Moira for this reason: *The King v Ridge* 4 Price 50 (a reprint from a secondary source is available at: <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=iEEZAAAAYAAJ> at 30, and of the first instance decision at: <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=CMsHAAAAIAAJ> at p 286, and *The Times*, 16 July 1816 at 3.). See C Caplan, 'We suppose the Trial is to take place this week' Jane Austen Society Report (2008) 152.
40. And also of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Mansfield Park* both of which had already been published by Egerton, so he would be buying the right to publish further editions.
41. Jane Austen's Letters, Letter 124.
42. RW Chapman, 'Jane Austen and her Publishers,' *London Mercury* 22 (1930), 337 at 338.
43. Jan Fergus, *Jane Austen: A Literary Life*, (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press, 1991) (Fergus), 190-2 (n 47 to Ch 5) and (for the advertising of *Emma*) 21. This is summarised by her but without the calculations in 'The professional woman writer' in E Copeland and J McMaster (eds) *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen* 2nd ed, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1.
44. Fergus 192.
45. See nn 22, 34.
46. Or one might have to split the profit between the trade and profession as in *IRC v Maxse* (1919) 12 TC 41 concerning Leopold Maxse, editor, proprietor and main author of the National Review, in relation to excess profits duty under which professions were exempt.
47. If they had agreed to share losses there would be a partnership and definitely a trade for tax purposes.
48. It was adopted in only 34 of the 622 novels published in Britain in the 1810s, Clery (n 39) ch 4.
49. As Jane Austen was for Frances Burney's *Camilla*, Chronology 1796 (initial paragraph).
50. Chronology 19, 21 October 1816, 21 February 1817, see n 8.
51. (1806) 46 Geo 3 c 65 s 227.
52. £14,600,000 out of £67,793,977 (Stephen Dowell, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England* vol 2 (London, Frank Cass, 1965) 257-8).
53. 19 March 1816. The 'never more' lasted only until 1842 when Peel dared to impose income tax in peacetime.
54. £110 (P&P) + £140 (S&S) + £310 (MP) + the items other than the first (which is included in the £310) in *Profits of my Novels* (£71 5s 11d) = £631 5s 11.

55. Murray Archives 42870 f. 550. Interestingly Murray issued two notes payable to Henry and Cassandra: on 31 December 1818 for £239 10s 7d in 3 months; another on the same date for the same sum payable in 6 months; and one on 20 March 1820 for £52 15s 5d in 3 months (in the National Library of Scotland). All three are endorsed in blank by Henry and Cassandra, suggesting that they were not paid into a joint account and the first two are also endorsed on behalf of Hoare's Bank. It is not clear why Henry was a payee when the money was due to Cassandra. Possibly these sums were paid to Henry.
56. Except for *Pride and Prejudice* for which he paid Egerton. Chronology 20 September 1832.
57. Broken down (apart from the Bentley payment for all the remaining copyrights): *Emma* £371, *Mansfield Park* £246, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* £516, *Sense and Sensibility* £172, *Pride and Prejudice* £110.
58. Dividends in the partnership bankruptcy were eventually paid of 6s 8d in the pound (*London Gazette*, 14 March 1843 p 872), and 3s 4d in the pound (*London Gazette*, 2 May 1843 p 1439), Chronology 9 March and 2 May 1843.
59. For simplicity farthings, which no doubt would have been included in the original, have been ignored; this gives rise to some rounding.

Mrs La Tournelle, Jane Austen's Schoolmistress

Mark Burgess



*View of Caversham from the Abbey Gateway, Charles Tomkins, 1791.
Reading Borough Libraries.*

Much of what we know about the boarding school in Reading attended from July 1785 to December 1786 by Jane Austen, her sister Cassandra and their cousin Jane Cooper comes from the reminiscences of Mary Martha Sherwood who was a pupil at the school a few years later.¹ The schoolmistress Mrs La Tournelle has tended to suffer from Mrs Sherwood's dismissive assessment of her as "only fit for giving out clothes for the wash, making tea, ordering dinner, and, in fact, doing the work of a housekeeper". But at the time Mrs Sherwood was at the school in 1791, Sarah La Tournelle (as she was known) had given up much of the running of the school to her partners the married couple Ann and Dominique St Quentin*. After over thirty-five years at the school, she was surely happy to play a less active role. Like Mrs Goddard in *Emma*, Mrs La Tournelle had 'worked hard in her youth'. While her character and intellectual endowments must remain elusive, this article seeks to trace the path in life which led to her being schoolmistress to Jane Austen.

Mrs La Tournelle had been born Esther Bell in about 1727, one of six children of the Rev. George Bell and his wife Christian. George Bell came from a family of Yorkshire clergymen. Born in 1684, the son of George Bell, Rector of Croft-on-Tees, and his wife Mary², he attended Richmond School and St John's College,

Cambridge. Ordained priest in 1708, he became Rector of Croft in 1710 on his father's retirement and a few years later had become rector of two more parishes, a prebendary of both York and St Paul's, and Chaplain to the Bishop of London.³ In 1718 he married Christian Wagstaffe, whose father Thomas Wagstaffe was a bishop of the nonjuring Church of England.

George Bell was clearly a man of great energy and enthusiasm. With so many responsibilities, he must have spent a good deal of time travelling between London and Yorkshire. He gave several notable sermons both at London and at York, some of which he published.⁴ It's not clear how much time he spent at Croft, or where his daughters passed their childhoods. The parish records are extremely thin at this time, with no mention of any of the Bell family, except for George Bell himself, who was buried there on 20 July 1734.⁵

George Bell's sudden death had a profound effect on his family. He died intestate with the administration of his estate being granted to Robert Hilton as "principal creditor" so it's likely his debts were great and his widow renounced her right to avoid losing her own assets.⁶ The loss of income forced the widowed Christian Bell to work for a living. She settled in London and in 1739 received twenty pounds from the Sons of the Clergy charity "upon my taking my daughter Lydia Bell to be my apprentice". Apprenticeship Duty records are missing for the year 1739 but it is feasible that Christian herself was working as a schoolmistress. Clergymen often supplemented their incomes by teaching (as Jane's father had done) and with three of her daughters later becoming school teachers it must be a real possibility that she was running a small school. A premium of twenty pounds would be in line with records for the profession and, although premiums varied widely for all trades and professions, those for the other likely occupations of mantuamaker and milliner tended to be rather lower or somewhat higher.⁷

Whatever Mrs Bell did to make ends meet, she clearly did her best to ensure her "six equally beloved & dear children" got a good start in life.⁸ In 1739 her eldest daughter Martha married Sacheverell Barnard, a law stationer of Mitre Court, Fleet Street⁹ and in 1740 her son George, aged 17, went to Merton College, Oxford, in preparation for a career in the Church.¹⁰ However, Christian Bell did not live to see all her family established. On 10 December 1741 she made her will and by the end of the year she had died. She was buried in the churchyard of St Mary Le Strand on 27 December. Her funeral expenses, including 6 shillings "to the Bearers" and 5 shillings "to the Mason", amounted to £4 14s 6d.¹¹

The three Bell daughters who became school teachers were Christian, Lydia and Esther. At the age of about eighteen the eldest of these, Christian, born about 1720, moved from London to Reading, becoming an assistant teacher to two spinster sisters, Elizabeth and Anne Eade, who ran a boarding school for young ladies. Close to St Laurence's church at the west end of the Forbury, the school had been going for many years and had established a reputation. In 1740 the rector of St Laurence's set aside gallery pews for the sisters and their boarders rent-free "as long as either of them should be alive, and keep school in the parish"¹² and when Elizabeth Eade died in 1745 the town regretted the passing of so "celebrated" a

person “of great parts and judgment, excelling in teaching all curious works”.¹³

By this time Christian Bell had clearly proved her worth because after Elizabeth’s death she took over the majority of the teaching and when Anne Eade too died in 1747 the Reading Mercury was happy to announce that “the School will be continued by Mrs Bell (daughter of a late Reverend Clergyman), who has officiated there some years, a gentlewoman in every respect qualified for such a trust”.¹⁴ ‘Mrs’, of course, was a courtesy title for a woman in position of some responsibility.

Two weeks later Christian added her own advertisement making clear that hers was a new regime: “whereas it has been objected by the parents and friends of the young ladies, that during the lives of both the late Mrs Eades there were two tables, one for parlour boarders, and another for the young ladies that were scholars, this is to assure them, that for the future no such thing will be done; and if any ladies (not scholars) shall think fit to board with the said Mrs Bell, it must be on condition that they dine with the young ladies that are scholars; she being determined to keep but one table, and not recede from that rule on any consideration whatsoever”.¹⁵ When Mrs Sherwood was at the school forty-four years later the system was the essentially same - the whole school breakfasted and dined together with parlour boarders only allowed to drink tea and have supper separately if they wished.¹⁶

Christian worked hard to develop the school. In March 1748 a new notice appeared denying a rumour that she was leaving the boarding school and saying that she was “entering into a long lease of the house”. Denial of rumours of this sort are so common in the newspapers of the time that perhaps they were invented to encourage interest. In December of the same year Christian announced that she would be continuing her school after “her marriage to Mr Mapleton of this place”.¹⁷

David Mapleton was a 36-year-old grocer with a shop in Butcher Row, an Alderman of the Reading Corporation, “and a person of strict probity and honour”.¹⁸ Originally from Odiham in Hampshire he had moved to Reading in 1727 when, aged 14, he was apprenticed to his kinsman Thomas Mapleton. By the time he married Christian Bell he had been widowed twice, with a five-year-old son, John, by his second wife. David Mapleton and Christian Bell were married at St Laurence’s church, on 10 December 1748.

About now Lydia joined her sister at the school as an assistant teacher. She was certainly in Reading by September 1749 when she was a witness to David Mapleton’s will, and quite probably before that as Christian was pregnant.¹⁹ David Mapleton died on 29 September and was buried in St Mary’s churchyard on 3 October 1749. Six weeks later, on 17 November 1749, Christian gave birth to a son whom she called David.²⁰

Meanwhile Esther was in London. On 2 July 1747 she married Peter Hackett at St Clement Danes church on the Strand.²¹ He was a peruke or wig maker and about ten years older than Esther. Initially they prospered and lived in Chandos Street near Covent Garden for a few years after their marriage.²² Close to the

theatre of Drury Lane, Esther clearly enjoyed life among actors as later she told stories of the green room to her pupils.

But by 1756 they had fallen on hard times; on 2 October Peter Hackett appeared for a settlement examination by the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields “destitute of lodging”. Hackett is a common name in London at this time but it is clear that this is Esther’s husband as he declared that “he was married to his present wife Esther at St Clements Church about nine years ago by whom he hath one child living to wit Martha aged eight years and upwards now in the Charity School in Hungerford Market”.²³ Three days later, the parish Overseers noted that he was given a pair of new shoes and stockings.

Esther was now working in Reading, as a French teacher at her sisters’ school. On 19 April 1756 a notice had appeared in the Reading Mercury announcing that “Mrs Mapleton, having engaged a French Teacher in her School, for the better convenience of those that choose to learn that Language, thought proper to take this public method of acquainting her friends, as a personal application at this time is impracticable.” Although this doesn’t mention Esther by name, the date fits so perfectly with her later assertion²⁴ of having worked at the school 27 years as to make the identification near to certain. That this was the time she adopted the name of Sarah La Tournelle, “on the suggestion of her employers”²⁵ also seems very likely. And the reason for her choosing that name is not hard to find. At this time a clergyman of Huguenot descent called Francis Latournelle was master of a boarding school for young ladies in Kensington Square. It’s possible that Esther knew him but not essential - his name had appeared prominently in a French language primer published the previous year²⁶, as one of many teachers endorsing its usefulness. The book was a great success, going through many editions and remaining popular well into the nineteenth century.

With a young daughter and husband in London, Esther presumably made regular visits to Reading to teach for a day or two at a time. As the journey of about seven hours cost seven shillings by stage coach or half price for “outside passengers”,²⁷ this represented quite an investment of time and money but clearly it was necessary in the family’s straitened circumstances. Possibly Esther also worked as a teacher elsewhere but if so that remains to be discovered. Regular travel was not without risks – carriage accidents were not infrequent. Perhaps Esther’s “cork leg” (as Mrs Sherwood called it) was the result of such an accident, though it would have been a wooden leg and not literally made of cork – they were so called as the best were made in Cork Street, London.²⁸

The school in the Forbury thrived. In 1756 Christian could afford to pay £100 for her stepson John to be apprenticed to Thomas Spicer, a haberdasher in London and brother of John Spicer, headmaster of Reading grammar school and a neighbour in the Forbury²⁹. And in 1763 a similar amount was paid for her son David to be apprenticed to Charles Maxwell, a London apothecary. (David Mapleton would go on to be a successful surgeon-apothecary, first in Henley-on-Thames and later in Bath, where Jane Austen knew his daughters.)

In the early 1760s Lydia became a partner with her sister and the school was

moved to larger premises beside the old Abbey gateway.³⁰ On 30 May 1768 Lydia married William Spencer, organist of St Lawrence.³¹ But by 1769 the hard work had taken its toll on Christian's health and she felt it was time to retire. On 15 September 1769 Lydia announced that she was taking over the whole running of the school and "as her whole time will be given up to it, and the utmost exertion of her abilities employed in it, she hopes her conduct on all accounts will entitle her to the countenance and favour of the public, which she now solicits".³²

Esther seems to still have had a base in London – in August 1771 she was described as a widow and "of the parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields".³³ It's not certain what had happened to her husband, though he is probably the Peter Hackett who spent brief periods in the St Martin-in-the-Fields workhouse during the 1760s.³⁴ On 12 November 1767 a Peter Haget, aged 50 and of Hungerford Market, was buried at St Martin-in-the-Fields on a note from the parish Overseers. Although the name is spelled with a 'g', this is likely to have been Esther's husband.³⁵

Esther's daughter Martha married Richard Ree, a gardener, at St Mary Lambeth on 3 August 1773. With her daughter married, and her husband dead, this was probably the time Esther settled permanently in Reading.

By a strange coincidence there was another, genuine, Mrs Latournelle living in Reading, in the same parish of St Laurence, at this time. Perhaps the fact that Esther always used two words for her assumed name, *La'Tournelle* (including an unnecessary apostrophe), is indicative of this rather awkward fact. Mrs Ann Latournelle was the widow of the very same Rev. Francis Latournelle who had inspired Esther's choice of assumed name. Widowed in 1765, she spent some time at the Somerset Hospital at Froxfield, Wiltshire, a charity for widows of clergymen but returned to Reading in 1770³⁶ where she died in December 1780.³⁷ During Jane Austen's time in Reading, therefore, there was only one Mrs La Tournelle.

In 1775 Christian Mapleton finally succumbed to her long illness, dying on Saturday evening, 4 March.³⁸ Seven years later Lydia's husband William died. Lydia herself only survived him by a year, dying suddenly on 12 February 1783.

Esther now took over the whole running of the school, announcing in the Reading Mercury that "S. La'Tournelle ... humbly solicits the interest of her friends and patronage of the public with whose assistance she intends continuing the school". She signed the renunciation of her sister's administration as "Esther Hackett"³⁹ but from then on, as the Gentleman's Magazine put it when reporting her own death in 1797, "her real name was probably known only to a few of her numerous friends".

One of her friends was Richard Valpy, who had become headmaster of the boys' grammar school on the other side of the Forbury, where by his energy and enthusiasm he raised the number of pupils from 23 to 120 in a decade. Dr Valpy championed Mrs La Tournelle's school - the sisters of grammar school pupils would sometimes be sent there - but he also inadvertently brought about its end. In 1787 he introduced Dominique St Quentin to the school as a potential French master. The son of an Alsace nobleman, he had worked in the diplomatic service



*The view from the school gate towards St Laurence's church.
F Chesham, engraving after Paul Sandby, 1778. Author's collection.*

but was in reduced circumstances due to gambling. However, he was a natural teacher and with his help the girls' school too expanded. In 1789 he married Mrs La Tournelle's assistant, Ann Pitts, and for a while all was well. Then St Quentin returned to his gambling with the disastrous result that he squandered the school's assets. Heavily in debt, the school was forced to close and in March 1794 the whole contents of the house were put up for sale. The St Quentins and Mrs La Tournelle parted company.

Forced again to work, Mrs La Tournelle was at first taken on by Miss Golding at her school in Wallingford, then early in 1795 by Mrs Darby in Henley-on-Thames. Mrs La Tournelle's reputation was in no way tarnished, as in March the following year Mrs Darby resigned and Mrs La Tournelle took over the school. She remained there until her death aged about 70, in October 1797.⁴⁰ Her career, and those of her sisters and associates, amply illustrate the mixed fortunes and insecure lives of eighteenth century school teachers. As Jane Austen herself was to write in *The Watsons*, 'I know what a life they lead'.

I would like to acknowledge my debt to the late Professor Tony Corley, whose work on the Reading Ladies Boarding School started me on my own research.⁴¹

Notes

1. Mary Martha Sherwood, *The Life and Times of Mrs Sherwood (1775 – 1851)*, ed. F J

- Harvey Dalton, Cambridge University Press, 2011.
2. George Bell senior was also Rector of St Katherine Coleman, London, and Prebendary of St Paul's (Mora) – c.f. the epitaph written for his son by Thomas Wagstaffe and published in *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century Comprising Biographical Anecdotes of William Bowyer...*; John Nichols, 1812, Vol IV p.178.
 3. Venn, J. A., comp.. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. London, England: Cambridge University Press, 1922-1954.
 4. For example, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Cathedral Church of St Peter in York...at the assizes held there March 5th 1721/22 By Geo. Bell...* York, 1722.
 5. Parish records, Croft-on-Tees, Yorkshire.
 6. Prerogative Court of York, Administration, vol. 83. George Bell, Croft, October 1734. For widows renouncing administration of their husband's estates see Amy Louise Erickson *Women and Property in Early Modern England* London, 1993.
 7. National Archives IR 1 1710-1811 Board of Stamps: Apprenticeship Books. For the period 1711-1770 fifty-six schoolmistresses are recorded as taking apprentices.
 8. Will of Christian Bell, 1741. London Metropolitan Archives and Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section, Clerkenwell, London, England; Reference Number: MS 9052/47; Will Number: 169
 9. London Metropolitan Archives, St Swithin London Stone, Composite register: baptisms 1675 - 1783, marriages 1672 - 1754, burials 1656 - 1678, P69/SWI/A/002/MS04312
 10. Foster, Joseph. *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886*. National Library of Wales, Diocese of Bangor Records: Episcopal register, NLW B/BR/4.
 11. Westminster Burials, City of Westminster Archives Centre, online: findmypast.com [accessed 30/10/2017]
 12. Charles Coates, *History and Antiquities of Reading*, London 1802, p. 160.
 13. Quoted in Cecil Slade, *The Town of Reading and its Abbey*, p.45. Reading Mercury not cited but the likely source.
 14. *Reading Mercury*, February 16 1747 n.s., British Library MFM M39003. At this time the title "Mrs" was indicative of social rather than marital status; c.f. Amy Louise Erickson, *Mistresses and Marriage: or, a Short History of the Mrs*; History Workshop Journal Issue 78, pp. 39-57.
 15. *Reading Mercury*, March 2 1747 n.s., British Library MFM M39003.
 16. Mary Martha Sherwood, *The Life and Times of Mrs Sherwood*, ed. F J Harvey Dalton, Cambridge University Press 2011, p.128.
 17. *Reading Mercury*, 10 December 1748. British Library MFM M39258
 18. *Reading Mercury*, 2 October 1749. British Library MFM M39258
 19. National Archives, PROB 11/ 776/214
 20. Parish registers – Reading, St Lawrence, transcribed by Berkshire Family History Society. D H Mapleton, *The Indomitable Breed, a History of the Mapleton Family*, Vancouver 1987.
 21. Parish registers - Westminster Marriages. St Clement Danes, Middlesex, England. City of Westminster Archives Centre, London.
 22. Votes in Westminster Elections, 1749-1820, 1st January 1749. London Poll Books. London Metropolitan Archives and Guildhall Library.
 23. St Martin-in-the-Fields Pauper Examinations, 1725-1793 Manuscript Reference: F5047. London Lives. LL ref: smdsset_84_55888 online: https://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?id=persNamesmdsset_84_55888&div=smdsset_84_55888 [accessed 28 June 2017]

24. *Reading Mercury*, 10 March 1783. British Newspaper Archive online www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk [accessed 27/8/2017]
25. *Gentlemen's Magazine* 1797, vol 67, p.983.
26. Peter Hudson, *The French Scholar's Guide: or, an easy help for translating French into English*, 1755 p.xi.
27. For example, Humphrey Carter's new Machine, *Reading Mercury* 27 December 1756, British Library MFM M21047.
28. Edward J G Forse, in *Notes and Queries* 170, p.427, 13 June 1936.
29. Will of Thomas Spicer, Haberdasher of London. PROB 11/940/168
30. Two possible properties became available in 1757 or soon after: Rear Admiral Charles Fanshawe died and his widow moved back to Plymouth; and Mrs Sambrook's house was to let with three years on the lease. St Laurence Poor Rate book 1751, Berkshire Record Office D/P97 11/1. *Reading Mercury* 21 February & 23 May 1757, British Library MFM M21047.
31. Parish registers – Reading, St Lawrence, transcribed by Berkshire Family History Society.
32. *Reading Mercury*, 18 September 1769, British Library MFM M21047.
33. Recital of an indenture dated 23 August 1771 within a copy lease and release by mortgage, 6 Feb 1775. The document mentions all the Bell sisters. Not mentioned here is Mary who married George Schultz, a stay maker of St-Martin-in-the-Fields. They had a daughter, Catherine. British Library IOR/L/L/2/1235.
34. City of Westminster Archives Centre, Workhouse Records, online findmypast.com [accessed 15/11/2017].
35. Parish register and Sexton's book - information communicated to me by Prof. Jeremy Boulton, Newcastle University, 17 August 2018.
36. John Ward. *Some Particulars relating to the Somerset Hospital at Froxfield, Wilts.*, Marlborough 1786. p.30. "7 November, 1770. Ordered, that Ann Latournell be allowed Ten Pounds Arrear to resign her Tenement, she being ill and not able to reside in the Hospital."
37. She was buried at St Laurence on 5 December 1780. Parish registers – Reading, St Lawrence, transcribed by Berkshire Family History Society. Her will, dated 1768, with bequests to Charles Coates and her executor Sarah Hawkes, Berkshire Records Office D/A1/95/209
38. *Reading Mercury* 13 March 1775 British Newspaper Archive online www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk [accessed 12/8/2017]
39. National Archives, PROB 31/713/99. Esther's signature was witnessed by her daughter Martha and brother-in-law Sacheverell Barnard.
40. *Reading Mercury*, 14 April 1794, 19 Jan 1795, 21 Mar 1796. British Newspaper Archive online www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk [accessed 12/8/2017]
41. For example: T A B Corley, *Jane Austen's Schooldays*, The Annual Report of the Jane Austen Society, 1996.

(*For a pleasing cross-reference to French Master St. Quintin, see p.37 of this Annual Report – Ed.)

Eleanor Jackson, the second Mrs Henry Austen

Angela Barlow

On April 11th 1820 Miss Eleanor Jackson, aged 24, daughter of Henry and Sarah Jackson of 9 Sloane Terrace, London, married the Reverend Henry Thomas Austen, almost 49, of The Rectory, Steventon, Hants, at Chelsea Old Church (St Luke's). The bride's maternal uncle, the Reverend John Rawstorn Papillon, conducted the ceremony and members of the Jackson family signed the register.

Little is known of Eleanor Austen, the woman who married Jane Austen's 'favourite brother' as his second wife. Jane Austen mentions Eleanor in 1813¹ when the seventeen-year-old, on a visit to her uncle and aunt in Chawton, enthuses about a collection of humorous parodies, *Rejected Addresses: or the new Theatrum Poetarum*²; 'She looks like a rejected Addresser' is Jane's cutting comment. Other Austen family members note in correspondence the various travels and clergy homes of Eleanor and Henry and refer to her poor health in middle age, but her personality remains obscure. She left no diaries and only two personal letters, one a simple note; nor did anyone but her sister-in-law, Cassandra, comment on her character – 'Henry's excellent wife', she wrote – and one might read into this her approval of the young woman's suitability as a clergy wife as well as a marriage partner for her brother. Sadly, Jane, whose opinion of the marriage would have most intrigued us, had been dead for three years.

No image of Eleanor or any member of her immediate family has yet been found, but an Austen cousin remarked that 'Miss Jackson' possessed 'a very good pair of eyes'³, though without her first name we cannot be sure he didn't refer to one of her sisters.

By exploring Eleanor's family relationships and background, by following the progress of her life with Henry, and by picking up clues in information gained by research, it's possible to catch a glimmer of the woman who captured the affection of the man who first fell for the fascinating Eliza de Feuillide. And a few surprises have emerged in Eleanor's story: a scandal and a tragedy.

Eleanor was born in London on November 10th, 1795, while her parents were living at 106, Fenchurch Street. She was the third of four sisters: Sarah (1792-1840), Emma (b 1793), Eleanor (1795-1864), and Henrietta (1798-1877). Emma may have died in infancy, or she may be the Emma Jackson whose burial is recorded in 1815 at St Augustine, Watling Street, when she would have been 22. Their mother, Sarah, came from a long line of Papillons, Huguenots arriving in England in the 16th century; in 1677 they built Acrise Place, the manor house in Essex where Sarah was born. One of her siblings, John Rawstorn Papillon, has the distinction of being the object of a joke by Jane Austen shortly before the Austens' 1809 move to Chawton, where he was Rector. A complete stranger to Jane (though known by name), he was suggested to her as a good match. Jane writes: 'I am very much obliged to Mrs Knight for such a proof of the interest she takes in me – & she

may depend on it, that I will marry Mr Papillon, whatever may be his reluctance or my own.⁴ When she knows him better, she criticises him in a letter to Cassandra, as a poor host – ‘anxious & fidgetty’, not ‘conversible’.⁵

Nor does Eleanor’s father, Henry Jackson, escape the sharpness of Jane’s pen. On dining with him in London in 1815 on a visit to her brother Henry, Jane encapsulates his character thus: ‘Mr Jackson is fond of eating.’⁶ Add to this her remark about the 17-year-old Eleanor and we have her disapproval of half the family.

The elusive Mr Jackson, a man short on recorded personal history, always appears as ‘Henry Jackson, Esquire’ – that suffix placing him in the conveniently grey area between gentleman and aristocrat – but with no occupation given, no family details. One might almost think he had something to hide. His address on his marriage, Fenchurch Street, a business area of the City of London, gives a clue to his occupation, and indeed he is finally to be found in a commercial list as ‘merchant’ and therefore ‘in trade’, should one wish to bracket him in such a way. The will of his daughter Sarah Jackson in 1840 refers to ‘my cousin, Sir George Jackson’, and this is the only indication of Henry’s family connections. He seems to have been first or second cousin to Francis James Jackson and Sir George Jackson, eminent diplomats in Europe and America, sons of Thomas Jackson, prebendary of St Paul’s.

Prosperous enough to reside in fashionable Sloane Terrace, Chelsea, at a time when Henry Austen lived a short walk away in Hans Place (and an even shorter walk from Henry’s previous home with Eliza in Sloane Street), Henry Jackson seems to have been on cordial terms with his namesake, who was then a well-to-do banker, but his initial connection with the Austens would have been through his in-laws, the Reverend Papillon and his sister Elizabeth of Chawton.⁷

By the time of the marriage to Eleanor in 1820, Henry Austen’s fortunes had drastically changed. His banks had failed in the tough years after the war, and in 1816 he had lost his home and everything in it. He had quickly made the decision to take orders, following an early ambition. No longer a wealthy man with a socialite wife, he was now a widower (Eliza had died in 1813) with nothing in the world but his clergyman’s stipend – apart from any family assistance that was forthcoming.

So how was a match made between a 24-year-old woman with Eleanor’s apparently comfortable background and a man of nearly 50, an ex-bankrupt living in a run-down country rectory?

It is important to remember that they had known each other before Henry became bankrupt, first at Chawton and when, as a widower, he was living in style in Hans Place. They were, in fact, distant cousins, with John Austen (III) and his wife Jane Atkins as their common ancestors. In 1815, the year Eleanor turned twenty, Henry and her family were socialising together in London and a teasing rapport may have begun. One wonders how confident he was that his affection would be returned by someone twenty-five years his junior, and conversely what quality Eleanor saw in this family friend once he became a middle-aged clergyman on hard times. However, judging by his portrait, he was still a good-looking man,

always personable, and holding on to his youthful energy. Deeper values, brought out by his new calling, could have appealed to Eleanor. Later in life she suffered from chronic rheumatism or arthritis; if the signs were already there, it may be that she saw in Henry, unlike younger men of her acquaintance, someone who would take care of her, while sharing her sense of humour and quickness of mind. And doubtless an alliance with the brother of Miss Austen was tempting ... because of course she would have read the novels.

A question that must be asked is: what father would allow his daughter to wed a man publicly disgraced in society, an ex-bankrupt? Possibly only one who had been in that position himself. And Henry Jackson had. The picture of an affluent life is misleading. In 1793 he had borrowed £5000 from his father-in-law, David Papillon, and for the next ten years had been unable to pay the interest on the loan; following this and numerous professional debts, a case was brought against him for bankruptcy, and in 1804 he is found moving his family's possessions out of their home (then in Beckenham, Kent) to Lee, one of David Papillon's properties in Essex⁸. So, Eleanor Jackson, daughter of a bankrupt, married a bankrupt. A courageous or a reckless act?

The marriage took place in her local church in Chelsea. Present were her mother and father, along with cousin George the diplomat, not yet knighted, and someone not mentioned in the usual accounts of Eleanor's family – Henry Verney Jackson, her younger brother. In 1820 Henry Verney already had a history: he had been rusticated at Cambridge for carrying a challenge to a duel, an illegal act. After a spell at Oxford, where he matriculated with lightning speed, he was entered at Lincoln's Inn to begin a career in the law, the very day after his sister's wedding. It's notable that no Austen relative appears in the marriage register; if Henry's brother Captain Francis Austen had been present, surely he would have been asked to sign. As for the rest of the family: Charles was unlikely to come up from his naval posting at Padstow, Mrs Austen now never spent a night away from home, and Cassandra and Edward were to visit Eleanor once she was established at Steventon. Cassandra seems to have been an ally from the start; she made a gift to Eleanor of a turquoise ring of Jane's – 'as soon as she knew I was engaged'⁹. And two months before the wedding she deposited £150 into Henry's new bank account at Hoare's Bank, followed in June by another £59. 5s 0d.

So, Eleanor began life at Steventon Rectory, where she was aware that her mother-in-law had once made the role of Rector's wife unforgettably her own. The house needed renovation and was undoubtedly damp after a drastic flood, but Cassandra reports that her tactful new sister-in-law 'seems much pleased with her habitation and its environs.'¹⁰ Henry followed his father's example by acquiring two pupils, Batchellor and Stopford; these lads, who were hardly ten years younger than Mrs Henry Austen, were to share the newly-weds' home. While facing such challenges, Eleanor was absorbed into the Austen tribe: she and Henry entertained family members, dined out with friends and worked in their small parish. The Reverend Papillon and his sister Miss Elizabeth Papillon made a day-long visit and invited them back to Chawton for a week, and in September Eleanor's father

and the twenty-two-year-old Henrietta came down from London to join a party for a local ball.

The marriage was to turn out well: Henry's tribute to Eleanor in a letter to his nephew James Edward Austen declares that she is 'one dearer to me than life, & for whose comfort I am solicitous beyond my own existence.'¹¹ She in turn was a loyal wife and supported him in his work as a clergyman. An initial impression that on marriage she exchanged a well-to-do family existence for harder times is challenged now that her father's history is known. From before her birth to her ninth year he was steadily slipping deeper into debt, losing ships and cargoes of rum and sugar, until he was finally made insolvent. The whole family would have suffered, with Sarah and Eleanor made keenly aware that their parents were struggling to keep afloat. The two more babies born in that period stretched Mr Jackson's finances even more. Fortunately, his status as a merchant meant he avoided debtor's prison. An emotional letter he wrote to David Papillon from Mincing Lane speaks of a 'prospective favourable report' on his affairs, and in early 1805 he is having meetings with his creditors to come to some kind of arrangement. Such an arrangement must have been arrived at because only a year later he found himself able to send his son to prep school at Rugby, followed by Repton in 1811, and thence to two universities – while he himself fetched up in exclusive Chelsea, dining out with a banker friend and his novelist sister. Clearly, he was allowed to continue trading – almost certainly dealing in goods produced by slaves in the West Indies – and soon clambered back into a comfortable lifestyle. But not quite all his debts were cleared ...

An intriguing factor in the next ten years is this: Mr Jackson had a number of properties to his name during that time, presumably always while keeping a base in London: in 1805 his home is in Beckenham, Kent; in 1806 he gives his address as Haselbech in Northamptonshire; in 1811 he's in Staffordshire at Dosthill Hall¹², and – noted later in 1822 (when he can simultaneously afford to be living in Chelsea) – he is Henry Jackson Esq of Lower Skelley near Swansea. As Stephen Mahony explains in his book on the economic background to Jane Austen's era¹³, it was deemed acceptable in the fluid society of the day for a merchant to emulate the gentry by acquiring a country house with a small amount of land. Is this what Mr Jackson was doing? And then did he sell each property on, to make a profit and clear his debts?

During Henry Austen's two and a half years at Steventon, Eleanor found herself in an uncomfortably familiar situation, as her husband too continued to be troubled by debts. In 1821 his brother Frank and James Austen's widow Mary, his guarantors, each had to pay around £400 to the War Office, on his behalf. Henry took on another pupil, whose fees were welcome but minimal compared with their needs. In addition, the Steventon living was always to go to his nephew William Knight once he was ordained¹⁴, so Henry knew that in 1822 he must search for a new parish. In January, before a place could be found, a tragedy occurred in the Jackson family: Henry Verney Jackson died suddenly, aged just 22. Although the burial took place in Dawlish, the death is mysteriously registered in Hereford and

the only obituary I have found fails to state the cause. For Eleanor's father and mother there could hardly have been a worse blow – their only son gone, with no issue and his career hardly begun. Hard too, for Eleanor and her sisters, to lose their little brother. No mention of the death is made in the Austen records, yet the family must have felt for Henry's wife in her bereavement.

August brought a position for Henry as Curate of St Andrew's Church, Farnham, in Surrey, so Eleanor had to put her mind to moving. In the permanent absence of the Vicar Henry would receive £75 per annum, surplice fees, and 'a good house', he writes, though the latter would cost him £40 p.a. The Old Vicarage dates from medieval times, and enjoys a view over the River Wey. Eleanor was to have a large garden and vegetable plot, with the church only a few steps across the churchyard, and the Grammar School, where a year later Henry was to become Master, a three-minute walk. Farnham, an attractive market town, lies comfortably below the hill housing Farnham Castle, while its fine main thoroughfare, Castle Street, and its market and shops could be easily reached on foot from the Old Vicarage.



The Old Vicarage, Farnham
photo Angela Barlow

Research by Cyril Trust, the co-author of *Farnham Grammar School: Headmasters of the School 1800-1973*¹⁵, suggests that on Henry's appointment as the School's Master, he suffered antagonism from the townspeople due to his record as a failed banker. Even so, he ran the School for three and a half years, though the previous cleric and Master, 'a foul-mouthed man and a womaniser' ¹⁶, had lost most of the pupils and been dismissed amid local scandal. Henry would have had to build up the numbers again and today it's not entirely clear whether

the School building was still available. His private pupils – his brother Frank’s son among them – would have boarded at the Old Vicarage, with Eleanor as house-mother. The Austens still struggled financially, what with curates’ fees for help with extra services, land tax and other expenses; but the two of them were ‘determined to live very quietly and frugally’.¹⁷ There is no sign of Eleanor’s father proffering financial help.

Here begins the seventeen-year period Eleanor and Henry spent in this area. In 1824 Henry became Perpetual Curate of St Mary’s at the nearby Hampshire village of Bentley, while still holding his two posts in Farnham, thus increasing their income but adding to the burden of work. The couple remained at the Old Vicarage till early 1827, when Henry resigned from the Farnham School and church, settling in Bentley till he retired in June 1839.

The story of these working years is inevitably Henry’s, but his successes and failures were shared, of course, by Eleanor. Her role isn’t mentioned in a contemporary account (November, 1823) of the Beating of the Farnham Parish Bounds, in which Henry gamely took part, as the incumbent must do, but it would have consisted of some soothing of a ruffled and rain-sodden husband after the event. Henry arrived late for the 7.30 a.m. start, but led an unruly crowd in the long Perambulation, a hilarious description of which can be found in Ewbank Smith’s *Victorian Farnham*.¹⁸ Boys were ‘bumped’, grown men became incensed when ‘marked’ with black paint, and violence with a penknife was threatened by an enraged council official in one of the disputes over territory. Drums and a fife added to the hubbub. There is no record of Henry attempting to calm things down, but the writer concedes that the body of young men was so numerous as to be beyond control.

No such high jinks are recorded in Bentley.

It is on record, however¹⁹, that Henry’s attempt at enlarging the Bentley church ended in disaster, when the fabric of the new South aisle proved inadequate and fifty-five years later was taken down and the aisle rebuilt. He had more success with a petition for the removal of the stocks on the village green, and the substitution of a ‘cage’ for untried prisoners²⁰. As for his work, Cassandra writes that ‘He makes an excellent parish-priest, is indefatigable in his exertions & seems to have nothing to wish for but a trifling increase of wealth & better health to his excellent wife.’²¹

The Rectory at Bentley, an attractive late-eighteenth-century house with land purchased by the parish ‘some time after 1819’²², was refurbished ready for Henry and Eleanor’s move. It offered just enough accommodation for a few students or for a small family, had there been one.²³ In November 1827 Eleanor turned thirty-two, still of child-bearing age. Henry’s will, made immediately after his second marriage, leaves everything to his ‘beloved wife Eleanor and her heirs’, but no children were ever born to her. Nor to Henry: his marriage to Eliza was also childless.

By now, Henry’s attempt to claim part of Eliza’s de Feuillide estate in France had failed, and his surrender of the Farnham curacy and Mastership left them less well off. Although he and his siblings each received bequests of £437-2s-9-1/2d



The Rectory, Bentley
Courtesy of John Fuller

on their mother's death in 1827, by the next year the state of Henry's finances forced him to ask a favour of his nephew James Edward Austen: If, as expected, James Edward should come into possession of the Scarlets estate on the death of his great-aunt Mrs Leigh Perrot, would he release Henry from the £400 debt that his mother had paid to the War Office in 1821? Henry assures him: 'After our Death you and your assigns shall be paid the principal Sum', and he offers 'ample & clear security'²⁴. Happily, James Edward eventually agreed. Eleanor didn't wait for her own death to repay this debt: it was honoured in the summer of 1854, four years after Henry died, while the other £400 had been repaid to Sir Francis Austen in May 1852.

Bentley's proximity to Chawton meant that Austen family gatherings continued. In 1832 Cassandra boasts of Henry's good health when he walked over to breakfast – six miles. He 'is a very good neighbour.' His wife sees plenty of her husband's family: Henry's sister-in-law Mary (James Austen's widow) records a flurry of meetings with him and Eleanor during February 1831 – breakfasts and dinners and trips to Bentley for the day. Despite her social life, Eleanor was able to compile and have published her *Epitome of the Old Testament*, 'written for the inhabitants of the Parish of Bentley', which is, as far as we know, her only literary effort, possibly urged on her by her husband. Winifred Midgley explains: 'It proceeds by question and answer and occasionally sounds as if addressed to children.' She sums it up as 'a competent piece of work', a rather tepid tribute.²⁵

Eleanor valued her own family connections too. Although no letters between the Jackson sisters exist, their wills benefit each other, and Henrietta, the youngest, is found in later years living near her Austen sister in Tunbridge Wells, Cheltenham and finally Bath. Both she and Sarah remained unmarried, Sarah dying at forty-eight leaving little evidence of her life, other than her attachment to her cousins Francis James Jackson and Sir George Jackson and their children. One of these,

Laura, married the Reverend Edward Ness, who became a steadfast friend to the Jackson sisters, and another, Georgiana, received £100 in Sarah's will.

A Charles Jackson becomes Henry's assistant curate at Bentley sometime in the 1830s, and in March 1838 he begins to sign as Perpetual Curate²⁶, officially replacing Henry on his retirement the following year. This is cousin Laura's brother, who seems to have been a favourite with Eleanor. In the later years of her widow-hood she gave Charles generous gifts of money to help support him and his wife with their ever-increasing family, and favoured him financially in a note connected with her will. He is 'remembered in Bentley today [1974] as a fine "six-footer"' ²⁷ and held the curacy for forty-nine years. He wasn't popular with everyone: Henry's nephew James Edward, later Austen-Leigh, makes a petulant comment when Charles is invited to join Cassandra's funeral procession in 1845: 'there [was] no more reason for his presence on the occasion than for that of Bentley Church itself.'²⁸

In her late thirties, Eleanor's arthritic complaint worsened, and in her forties she was using a wheelchair for outings. Trips to spas followed and even travel abroad, suggesting she was still fairly fit. She may have been with Henry when he preached at Clifton, the spa near Bristol, where his theme was 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of'. In the published version (printed 'at the request of many of the congregation'), he is described not only as Perpetual Curate at Bentley but also 'Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Morley'²⁹, taking advantage of a past connection. From another spa, Bath, he writes to his Churchwarden in 1836, 'Mrs Austen continues to gain ground – she does not expect ever again to be a decided walker but she gets about the house comfortably and will probably be able to move from one floor to another.'³⁰

Her disability doesn't prevent her from joining Henry on his parish rounds. In her only extant letter,³¹ written to Cassandra from Yeovilton Rectory where Henry was acting as locum, she describes visits to the sick and poor in her wheelchair. She is disturbed by the squalid conditions in the cottages but her humour doesn't desert her; she reports 'A poor woman told me yesterday in a very sincere tone, that she did love [Henry] from her heart, & from her heart she wished he was going to stay – not but what their own Minister was very kind, but then he was younger' Henry was sixty-six at this time.

It is easy to hear her 'voice' in the letter, the purpose of which is primarily to send Cassandra a copy of a poem containing a tribute to Jane Austen ('The Lady and the Novel' by Lord Morpeth). After writing it out, she goes on to include snippets of news in a fluid and sometimes ironic style. The impression is of a self-assured woman who relishes life and has an easy way of expressing herself: her 72-year-old aunt has 'taken a frisk up to London under the protection of Hobbs' and is none the worse; the bread in Somerset is 'vile'; the portrait of the present incumbent's wife shows her to be 'the very antipodes to her Husband'. She exchanges family news with her 'dear sister' Cassandra, an important item being the naming of cousin Laura's baby as Eleanor Austen Sarah, and sends love to Cassandra's great-niece 'little Mary Purvis', hoping to make her acquaintance one day.

We are lucky enough to have her first-hand account of a significant political event. Queen Victoria had recently acceded to the throne on the death of her uncle William IV. This was the last occasion when a sovereign's demise triggered an election, and the excitement was almost too much for the villagers of Yeovilton: 'The Bells rang, the footman got drunk three days running, the Babies were covered with blue Sarsonet, and carried about little blue flags, which now lie in conservative litter in the front [hall?]' . She doesn't add that in spite of Yeovilton's enthusiasm, Peel's Conservatives failed to oust Melbourne's Whigs.

In July 1836, Eleanor's mother had died, leaving her three daughters a total of £2500, most of which Henry invested for them in Government securities known as Consols. Mrs Jackson's death is recorded in Weston-super-Mare, but no reason is given³² as to why she was there. She had been a widow for some ten years, and what assets her husband left her are unknown, but if £2500 was the whole of her estate, it would have yielded a barely adequate income. The exact date of Henry Jackson's demise is not clear but he would only have been in his fifties, and in his life had lost his son, his reputation and a good deal of money. A letter³³ exists, written by Henry Austen on behalf of Sarah junior, who, with the 'cordial assent' of her sisters, wished to pay back a debt their father owed to the late David Papillon, their grandfather. Dated November 14th 1838 from Colchester, it is addressed to David's son Thomas Papillon, and the sum comprises the balance of £315.18.3 due on a loan of £3000 on an insurance policy. Can this sum have been Mr Jackson's last debt? Henry Austen reflects the feelings of the three sisters with his comment 'I have unspeakable pleasure in enclosing my cheque on Messrs Hoare.' The women's gesture may have been prompted by the receipt both of their mother's legacy and another from their uncle John Papillon, plus a share of their uncle George Papillon's estate which granted each of them £352.8.9. This last happy conclusion was a result of their energetic letters justifying their legal rights to the money³⁴, a correspondence assisted, naturally, by Henry, a past master in such affairs.

His own letters to the late Lord Moira's son George Rawdon-Hastings had not been effective enough to recover the £6000 loan made to the former by Henry's bank in 1813. Lord Moira had failed to pay up in spite of a court case finding against him, and now his son refused too; a sharp disappointment to Henry, who wished to give Eleanor a more comfortable life. He never lost his resentment towards Lord Moira, whose behaviour he described as 'unexampled treachery'³⁵.

Henry took his retirement in 1839 aged sixty-eight and they moved away from their Austen connections to be close to Eleanor's Papillon family in Essex. Her mother's childhood home, Acrise Place, and Lexden, the manor house inherited by her uncle the Reverend John Rawstorn Papillon, have now been absorbed into Colchester, the town where Eleanor and Henry settled for three years. Her 'handsome'³⁶ aunt Elizabeth was now the Lady of the Manor at Lexden, the Reverend having made over the house to her for her lifetime. The two of them may have played a part as supportive family to Mrs Jackson during her husband's troubles. At the Reverend's death in 1837 he showed his affection for his three

nieces by bequeathing them each £2000 in Consols. This windfall, plus a sum left to Eleanor by Sarah in 1840, made the Austen couple's future more promising – so much so that in 1842 they were able to move to still-fashionable Tunbridge Wells, maybe for the spa waters, or perhaps for better preaching opportunities. It seems they took rooms in various lodging houses. In Cassandra's will in 1845, Henry received £1000 – as did two of his brothers – and in summer 1848 he and Eleanor at last acquired a proper home, Little Grove House³⁷, Cumberland Gardens, rented to them by Joseph Delves, house agent and coal merchant. It stands in a desirable part of town, only a few hundred yards from the Pantiles, four storeys high and classically built in the 1830s. Before the move, Henry reports Eleanor too weak to visit James Austen-Leigh at Scarlets in Berkshire, though this could have been a tactical excuse. Henry himself has been ill but is improving 'and will be able to preach again soon'³⁸ – at seventy-seven. In October they go sea-bathing at Eastbourne, possibly for the benefit of Henry's health rather than his wife's. Bathing in the sea was believed to stimulate the liver and abdominal circulation.³⁹ Henry was to die of gastritis, where abdominal pain can be acute, and it's likely he suffered from the condition for some time. He had certainly been well enough in May to visit his brother Edward Knight at Godmersham, a favourite haunt, and to enjoy a family gathering there. Eleanor presumably stayed at home, as Eliza had before her. During 1848 Henry's niece Caroline visited them at Tunbridge Wells and took the opportunity to ask her uncle about Austen family history, which she was to write up in later life⁴⁰. Did she and Eleanor consolidate a friendship at this time, one that culminated in Eleanor's gift to her of Jane's turquoise ring? Meanwhile, Henrietta lived nearby in Blenheim Terrace, the last of Eleanor's immediate family members.



Little Grove House, Tunbridge Wells
photo Angela Sinclair

When Henry died on March 12th 1850, he and Eleanor had been married almost exactly 30 years. He left everything to her in the will he'd made in their marriage year, and as it was unwitnessed, Henrietta and a family friend Sarah Larkin, went to London to swear to its validity. In her own will, swiftly drawn up on April 12th, Eleanor bequeathed all she possessed to Henrietta, while Sarah Larkin and Henry's doctor, Richard Turner, stood as witnesses.

Now a widow and a partial invalid, Eleanor acquired a companion. Henry's great-niece Mary Renira Purvis (who first appears aged seven in Eleanor's letter from Yeovilton) joined her some time after Henry's death. Mary's grandfather, Sir Francis Austen, arranged this in order to separate Mary from her 'undesirable' father, Captain George Thomas Maitland Purvis RN. It is to be hoped that Sir Francis's gesture was also made out of kindness to Eleanor. We know Mary lived with her 'for two or three years' at least⁴¹, but on the day of the 1851 Census it's Sarah Larkin who is staying at Little Grove House; she remains a friend till Eleanor's death. The regular gifts of money that Eleanor sends her – £5 or £10 per annum – suggest these are goodwill offerings to someone who is less comfortably off than herself.

How comfortable *is* Eleanor? During the later years at Bentley Henry's finances had allowed him to invest in Consols. Drawing on his banker's expertise, he also went for something more risky – Brazilian bonds at 5% and Dutch 2.5 per cents. He must have been satisfied with the outcome, as he continued to invest in them until he died. It is estimated that he left Eleanor capital of around £10,000 and, with the termination of his annuity, an income of perhaps £350 per annum, but it is difficult to know what kind of lifestyle this would have given her.

In May 1851 the payments to Mr Delves for Little Grove House cease, after which there are no obvious rental outgoings for three years. It may be that losing Henry and needing her family, she spent that time with Henrietta or at Lexden with her Aunt Elizabeth Papillon, still alive in her late eighties⁴². Frequent changes of accommodation, most likely in Tunbridge Wells, followed this period until 1860. The lack of evidence in Eleanor's last years suggests a quiet life, but one or two small surprises are to be found ...

In spite of her disability, she may have managed to remain comparatively mobile – with some help. Mary Renira didn't marry till 1874, so in theory she would have been free to continue as companion. That Eleanor held her in regard seems evident: Mary received an annuity on her great-aunt-in-law's death, and it may well have been through Mary that Eleanor learned of the terms of Sir Francis Austen's will. In September 1861 he cut out Mary's brother, Captain George Thomas Maitland Purvis (Junior), from the will because 'his conduct has been such as to forfeit all claim on my regard; the particulars of which his own conscience will sufficiently apprize him.' He reaffirms his dissatisfaction with his grandson in a codicil on November 13th.⁴³ Shortly after this Eleanor pays the unfortunate Captain £100, flying in the face of Sir Francis's disapproval – this supposing that she knew of the will. The action could have been coincidental, but if not, we can see where her sympathy lay.

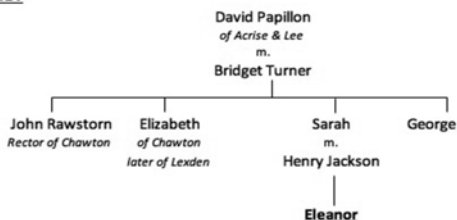
In the Census of 1861 Eleanor is found alone with a servant in the Cotswold village of Amberley, near Stroud, a considerable journey from Kent. It looks as if she lived there for two years, from 1860-1862; the question is why? Several answers come to mind; the first: she and Henry appear to have holidayed in this beautiful area for four consecutive years immediately after his retirement, and why should she not make a nostalgic pilgrimage? The second: Henrietta is in nearby Cheltenham at this time and the rail links would make it easy for her to visit Eleanor and even take her back to the spa for the waters; Laura and Edward Ness live sixteen miles away at Elkstone; and lastly, Henry and Eleanor may have had clergy friends in or near Amberley, with whom she kept up after his death.⁴⁴ It's a small mystery but an intriguing one, yet to be solved.

In November 1863 Eleanor started paying for lodgings at 2 Russell Street, Bath. The house, with two large front windows, stands at right-angles to Jane Austen's 'Upper Rooms', or as we know them, the Assembly Rooms. Every day Eleanor could have enjoyed looking out at the scene of Catherine Morland's first ball. But she had other things on her mind. It is now that she sends Caroline Austen Jane's ring, as if tidying up her affairs towards the end of her life. Her note reads: 'My dear Caroline. The enclosed Ring once belonged to your Aunt Jane. It was given to me by your Aunt Cassandra as soon as she knew that I was engaged to your Uncle. I bequeath it to you. God bless you! Your affectionate Eleanor Austen.' Dated November 1863, it was almost certainly sent from Bath. As in Tunbridge Wells, she has Henrietta settled comfortably nearby – in charming Catharine Street.

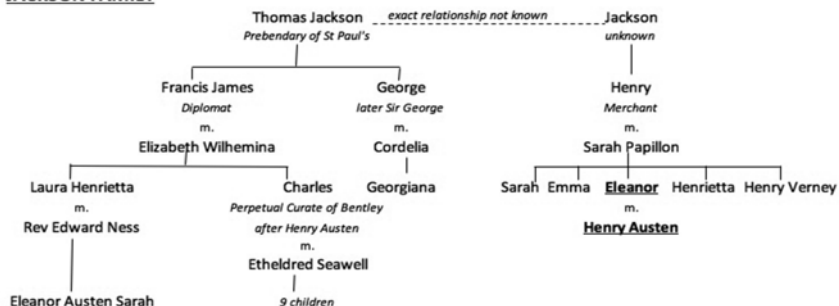


*2, Russell Street, Bath
photo Angela Barlow*

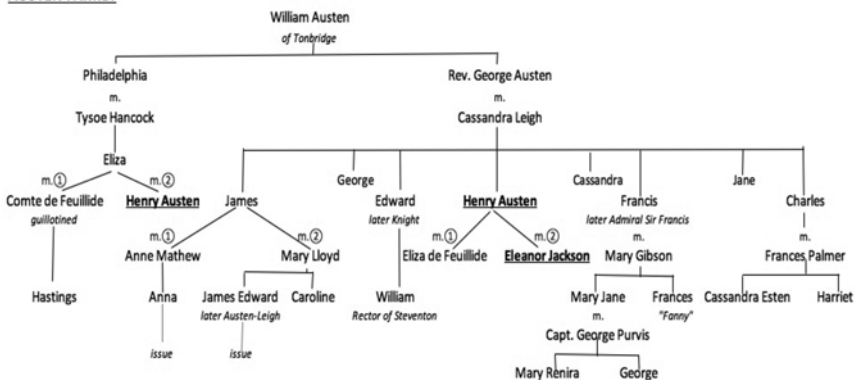
PAPILLON FAMILY



JACKSON FAMILY



AUSTEN FAMILY



The Bath Street Directory of 1864 gives us a surprising piece of information: it lists the occupants of 2, Russell Street as Mrs Austen and 'Miss Austen'. I have not been able to establish which Miss Austen this is, but how appropriate for an Austen family member to be present and perhaps care for Henry's wife in her final illness. I believe there to be four contenders: Francis Austen's daughter Fanny; Charles Austen's two daughters: Cassandra Esten and Harriet Jane; and James Austen's daughter Caroline, although in Caroline's account of 1864 in her *Reminiscences* she makes no mention of Eleanor, the ring or her death.

In late April, Eleanor is attended by physician Henry Hensley, and she dies of bronchitis on the 3rd of May, aged sixty-eight. The death certificate, which Hensley signs, describes her not just as 'widow', but 'Widow of the Revd Henry Thomas Austen, M.A.', perhaps suggesting that Henrietta or 'Miss Austen' asked for this to be added.

As sole beneficiary and executrix, Henrietta swears to Eleanor's original 1850 will in London on June 27th, 1864. No gifts or mementos appear in the document, yet it is usually stated that the miniature of Eliza's mother, Philadelphia Hancock (returned to Henry at Cassandra's death), was left to Mary Renira Purvis in Eleanor's will. This is not so. Eleanor may have sent it to Mary or given it to her in person; but there is another possibility: thirteen years later, in Henrietta's own will, she makes it clear that Eleanor left written instructions regarding Mary and cousin Charles Jackson, which she, Henrietta, was to carry out. These may have included arrangements for the miniature.

Henrietta's will, dated May, 1875, explains that since Eleanor's death she has allowed Mary Renira an annuity of one hundred pounds in accordance with Eleanor's 'written request', but she has 'recently had good and sufficient reason for discontinuing such allowance ... my said sister under circumstances which have arisen suggested that I should cease to pay such annuity.' The 'good and sufficient reason' would most likely be Mary's marriage to Dr James Paine in December, 1874, though it seems odd that the will doesn't say so. An alternative explanation is that Mary had behaved badly in some way, but there is no evidence whatever to confirm this.

Eleanor's cousin, the Reverend Charles Jackson of Bentley, received the outstanding sum of £4000 on Henrietta's death, also 'in accordance with a request made to me by my late Sister Mrs Austen', and doubtless part of the considerable legacy Eleanor appears to have left her sister. Charles, the father of nine, would make good use of it, especially having waited till he was sixty-five to benefit financially from his cousin's affection – although he surely owed a lifetime's Curacy of Bentley to her personal intervention.

Eleanor is not buried with Henry in Tunbridge Wells but in the Lansdown Cemetery above Bath in Plot 4.A.30A, where Henrietta joined her in 1877. Their sister Sarah is not far away, in the village of Weston, while their mother, as we have seen, lies in the graveyard in Weston-super-Mare. Typically, their father's burial place is currently unknown, but a Henry Jackson who died in 1826 aged 56 is registered in the churchyard of St Mary at Lambeth, London, now the Garden Museum. A different date of his death – 1824 – is given in the genealogy website Rootsweb.

Eleanor's life was not an unusual one for her time, apart from her connection to a famous family, but it deserves to be recorded. She lived through four reigns, endured certain hardships, enjoyed the affection of two extended families, and fulfilled a useful role as a clergy wife to 'the handsomest [man] of the [Austen] family'.⁴⁵ She will be remembered as a careful custodian of two objects connected with Jane Austen, her ring and her aunt Philadelphia's miniature, both now safely

held at Jane Austen's House Museum. One of these is accompanied by an example of Eleanor's handwriting, which, in the absence of a portrait, gives us the nearest hint we have of her true personality.



*Revd Henry Austen c. 1820
Jane Austen's House Museum*

The well-known miniature of Henry Austen shows a confident man with a hint of amusement in his eye. It was painted, we are given to understand, around 1820, the year of his marriage to Eleanor. Who commissioned it? And who was it for – if not his bride? Would the compliment not have been returned? Somewhere, in an Austen, Jackson or Papillon attic there may be a likeness of Henry's second wife that will tell us just a little more about the character of Eleanor Jackson Austen.



*Jane Austen's ring and Eleanor's note
Jane Austen's House Museum*

Notes

1. Deirdre Le Faye, Ed. *Jane Austen's Letters*, Oxford University Press 1997. p.199
2. by J & H Smith
3. Edward Rice, in Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family*, Cambridge, Revised Edition 2013. p.601
4. *Letters* p.156
5. *Letters* p.198.
6. *Letters* p.291
7. He might have been aware of another link between the families: Henry Austen had made an attempt to gain the Chawton living in 1796 while with the Oxfordshire Militia, but Mr Papillon had the promise of it and Henry was unable to persuade him to give it up. Years later, after his careers in the Army and banking, Henry's first position as a clergyman was as curate at Chawton under his future uncle-in-law.
8. This, and subsequent information about Henry Jackson's financial affairs is taken from letters in the Papillon Papers in the Archive of the Kent Library and History Centre.
9. Eleanor Austen to Caroline Austen, November 1863. Jane Austen's House Museum. The ring was bought by US singer Kelly Clarkson in 2012 and bought back by the Jane Austen House Museum after a campaign to raise the money to keep it in the UK.
10. *Austen Papers*, p.267
11. Ibid p.282 Nov 1828
12. Both these addresses found in Rugby and Repton school records
13. Stephen Mahony, *Wealth or Poverty: Jane Austen's Novels Explored*, Robert Hale 2015 p.38
14. William Knight acted as Henry's curate for a month or two before Henry's departure. William Jarvis, *Collected Reports 1976-1985* pp.15-16
15. Privately printed
16. Cyril Trust, email to me
17. Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family 1600-2000*, Cambridge, 2013 p.620
18. Ewbank Smith, *Victorian Farnham*, Phillimore. 1971 pp.9 & 10. A condensed account can also be found in Winfred Midgley, *The Revd Henry & Mrs Austen*, *Collected Reports 1976-1985* P88
19. Lambeth Palace Library, and, I believe, in St Mary's Church, Bentley
20. Midgley, p.89
21. *Austen Papers* p.284 (letter dated 1832)
22. Mary Eggar, *The Church & Village of Bentley St Mary in Hampshire*, PCC Bentley 1974
23. I am indebted to John Fuller, the current owner of the Rectory, for his estimate of accommodation in the house in the Austens' day, before it was enlarged in Victorian times.
24. *Austen Papers*, pp.282 & 285/286
25. Midgley. pp.87 & 90. A copy of *The Epitome* is kept at Jane Austen's House Museum.
26. Eggar
27. Eggar
28. *Austen Papers* p.294
29. Maggie Lane, *Jane Austen and Bristol*, *Collected Reports 1976-1985* pp.317-318
30. Midgley p.90
31. Copyright The British Library. The letter is dated August 8th, 1837.
32. In Rootsweb

33. Papillon Papers C124/9 p.46
34. Papillon Papers C124/8 p.46
35. E J Clery, *Jane Austen: The Banker's Sister*, Biteback Publishing, 2017 p.316. A full account of Henry's dealings with Lord Moira is given in E J Clery's book.
36. *Letters* p.194
37. Margaret Wilson, *Where did Jane's brother Henry and his second wife live in Tunbridge Wells? Austentations* 2003
38. Austen-Leigh archive 23M93/86/3
39. John Hassan, *The Seaside, Health & the Environment in England & Wales since 1800*, Aldershot Ashgate 2003
40. *Chronology* p.669
41. Ibid. p.675. Francis Austen to a nephew, says of Eleanor's companion in 1852/3: for 'the last two or three years'. However, the Census of 1851 shows Mary still at home – though perhaps she was visiting just on that day.
42. Eleanor is dubbed 'Eleanor Austen of Lexden' in a newspaper advertisement in 1875 informing the public of a dividend unclaimed since her death.
43. *Chronology* p.680
44. The Rector of nearby Avening from 1836 to 1857, T R Brooke, was an Evangelical, which might have been of interest to Henry between 1839 and 1842. Brooke followed his father Dr Brooke as incumbent, the Doctor probably being of Henry's generation. The romantically named Francis de Paravicini followed T R Brooke, remaining till 1897. The incumbent at Amberley, Rev Blackwell, arrived in the year the new church was built, 1836, and remained till 1872. No link to Henry is immediately apparent. David Ricardo's name may have been known to Henry; it recurs as 'builder', meaning he put funds up for several new or rebuilt churches in the '30s and early '40s in the area: Amberley, Brinscombe, where the nave faces west rather than east, and Minchinhampton. He was the son of the political economist David Ricardo, and lived at Gatcombe Park.
45. Anna Austen in W. Austen Leigh, R. A. Austen Leigh, & Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen, A Family Record*, The British Library, 1989, p.52.

I am grateful to the British Library for their kind permission to quote from Eleanor's letter to Cassandra; also to Sue Dell, Tyler Mills and Sophie Reynolds at Jane Austen's House Museum for use of the images of Jane's ring and Henry Austen and for other assistance; to Pamela Hunter at Hoare's Bank, London; to Mark Ballard and colleagues at the Archives of the Kent History & Library Centre; to Stephanie Adams at Bath Record Office; to Louise Papillon; to Stephen Mahony for his invaluable help interpreting the Austen and Jackson accounts; to John Fuller for information about Henry and Eleanor's Bentley and for photographs; to Cyril Trust; to Ian Jones and Angela Sinclair; and to Diana Wall of the Minchinhampton Local History Group.

The York Lefroys

Marilyn Joice and Allan Francis

(The following article is based on original, detailed research sent to the Northern Branch by Mr Allan Francis of Fulford, York. He wished to share his work with the Jane Austen Society. It formed the basis of a talk he gave to the Fulford, Fishergate & Heslington History Society in January 2019.)



Captain Anthony Lefroy

When Allan Francis moved to Old St Oswald's in Fulford, York, he was intrigued to find in the grounds, a large grave slab, with railings around three sides. This is the burial plot of Captain Anthony Lefroy and his wife, Elizabeth. Knowing of the romantic connection between Jane Austen and another Lefroy, he decided to research Anthony; he soon discovered that Captain Lefroy was Tom Lefroy's younger brother. He comments, 'I have pieced together the story of the 'York Lefroys', resident in Fulford from 1819, and what appears, is worthy of a Jane Austen novel of true love and disinheritance.'



This branch of the Lefroy family has a long history of residence in southern Ireland. Tom and Anthony's father, another Anthony, was a Lieutenant Colonel of the 9th Dragoons. Their London-based great uncle, Benjamin Langlois, who did not marry, wielded much influence in the family due to his wealth. Anthony senior married secretly and fathered three children before telling his family, but it seems that he was forgiven his indiscretion.

Anthony Thomas Lefroy, born in Limerick in 1777, was destined for a career in the army. On 31 January 1790, aged 13, he joined his father's regiment as a cornet (entry level officer class). Records show that in 1791 he was on half pay with the 73rd Regiment, and by March 1794, he was 'exchanged for Irving to the British establishment of the 2nd Battalion of the late 73rd Regiment', and moved from half pay to full ensign (ensign and cornet are interchangeable terms). During the same year, and aged just 17, he received promotion from lieutenant in Earl Landaff's 114th Regiment of Foot to captain in Lord Mountnorris's 126th Regiment of Foot.* By April 1795 he was a captain on full pay in the 2nd Battalion 90th of Foot on reduction.

This hiatus in his career, when he is described as a captain and not a captain (on reduction) may have been due to his inexperience, but in October 1796 he was reinstated as captain, this time with the 65th Regiment of Foot, where he had full command of a company with an established history. Despite one more Regimental move, he continued to describe himself as a Captain of the 65th Regiment until his death.

This flurry of movements and promotions should be seen in the context of a rapidly deteriorating relationship with France and a disastrous campaign in the Low Countries. However, it is also important to understand that commissions were bought, and considerations of age and experience were of no consequence. (Indeed, it was said at this time, by an adviser to the Duke of York, that the army was led by “boys and idiots”.) Nor were commissions cheap; Anthony was probably sponsored by his great uncle Benjamin, who was certainly supporting his elder brother Tom, who was studying for the bar.

It was during the winter of 1795/96, whilst Anthony was building his army career, that Tom had a brief ‘romantic liaison’ with Jane Austen, an episode that has been much debated by Austen biographers. The Hampshire Lefroys were inclined to dismiss it as ‘puppy love’; the York Lefroys, however, took a different view. Their story, perhaps, gives an insight into why they, and particularly, Captain Anthony’s son, Thomas E. P. Lefroy, saw things differently.

In November 1798, whilst serving as a captain in 65th (2nd Yorkshire, North Riding) Regiment of Foot, Anthony met and married Elizabeth Wilkin, daughter of an apothecary in Appleby in Westmorland. Though he is described as a ‘gentleman’, the family appear to have had no inherited wealth or connections. It is unlikely, therefore, that Elizabeth brought any income of her own to the marriage.

As Tom’s career went from strength to strength, Anthony’s began to falter. Although the evidence is circumstantial, it could be deduced that his wealthy great uncle did not approve of his marriage and he withdrew the necessary funds to purchase commissions, though this may be an over-simplification of Captain Lefroy’s circumstances.

In 1795 the Duke of York, as the Commander in Chief, introduced major army reforms. They included a promotion structure for officers, which retained the process of purchasing commissions, but established fixed terms of service before progress could be made to the next level of command. Under these new regulations, promotion would not have been long in coming; Anthony, now 21, had served three years as a captain and a shortage of officers created further opportunities. During the Napoleonic Wars many officers gained promotion due to casualties, but also through aptitude – without purchase - and officers could be promoted through the ranks. Indeed, during the Napoleonic wars, the numbers of officers who obtained promotion through service and ability were in the majority over those who bought their commissions.

In March 1802 the Treaty of Amiens was signed by the Allies and France and hostilities abated. Although it lasted just 14 months, it resulted in some

demobilisation, with surplus officers required to stand down and be reduced to half pay. Captain Lefroy found himself in this position. He and Elizabeth were living in Northumberland, where their first child, Anthony, was born at Warkworth, near Alnwick, and for the next two years the family must have lived on a captain's half pay, which amounted to £86 pa. Whilst half pay status freed the officer from active service, the salary was barely adequate for a family to live on. Captain Lefroy's family are unlikely to have offered support; Tom and Anthony were the eldest of ten children and Tom, who was still to qualify in Law, was in no position to offer financial help.

When the hostilities recommenced, the records show that the regiments Anthony was attached to were on active service. An officer could opt for half-pay conditions to avoid fighting with the regiment and, for whatever reason, Anthony chose to do so, and remain in England. Perhaps his experience as a soldier influenced his ambition. As a 17-year-old Captain in the 90th Foot, on reduction, he may have been involved in the abortive Battle of Quiberon, (1795) when French royalist and British forces attempted an invasion on the Quiberon Peninsula. His experience with the 65th Foot was quite different. He seems to have joined on their return to England from the West Indies in 1795. They were based in England and Scotland until 1801, when they were stationed at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1802 they left for a long term posting, firstly, in Ceylon and then Mauritius. Ceylon was a difficult posting and it may be that on his return from the Cape he decided that he would prefer to be home-based, with his growing family; an organizer/administrator rather than on active service.

By 1804, with the threat of French invasion, opportunities arose in organising and mobilising the army. At this time over 18,000 regular troops were stationed in Sussex and Captain Lefroy became the barrack master at Silver Hill Barracks at Roberstbridge, on a salary of £182.10s p.a. He seems to have continued to draw the salary of a half-pay captain, too, and he remained in post until the end of the conflict and demobilisation brought about the closure of the barracks. The family lived in Salehurst, East Sussex and the births of four more of his children are registered here: twins George and Elizabeth in 1807, Lucy in 1810 and Phoebe in 1813. In 1815, Thomas (hereafter TEPL) was born in Littlehampton.

Tom Lefroy continued to prosper, and there is evidence that he assisted Anthony financially. He may also have been instrumental in his appointment as barrack master at Arundel in 1817, when the Silver Hill Barracks closed.

Anthony's last daughter, Mary Anne, was born in Manchester, 1818. The births of his children lend support to the pattern of Captain Lefroy's career, but there appears to be no connection with Manchester. In 1819 he moved again, to be barrack master at the cavalry barracks, at Fulford, York.

There was no advantage to this



move; the salary was the same and was still supplemented by his half-pay from his regimental commission and, as his family was established and his children were born and grew up in Sussex, it is difficult to explain. Although he had transferred to the 4th Foot Regiment, he still seemed to identify with the 65th Regiment. Whatever the circumstances of his move from Arundel, the Yorkshire connection may have helped him obtain the position. The family moved into North House, (1 Main Street,) Fulford, on the junction with Heslington Lane (North House is extant). It may have been leased to the army.



North House, (1 Main Street,) Fulford

In 1824, the Lefroys' eldest son, Anthony Thomas, aged 21, moved to Ireland to join the police force, possibly helped by family connections. Their other children were still dependent on their parents. Anthony Thomas's police career in Ireland flourished. He returned in 1839 to create the Gloucestershire police force and became the first Chief Constable of Gloucestershire, as part of the establishment of regional forces introduced at that time.

So, what of their remaining children? Phoebe married Joshua F. Whittell of Upper Helmsley in 1831, aged 18. Elizabeth became the third wife of Samuel Hibbert Ware MD FRS in 1842 at the late age of 36. Her twin, George Bentick, was living in central London when he married Charlotte Dolman in 1844. TEPL, who became a barrister, and then a county court judge, married his second cousin, Jemima, daughter of Anna (Austen) and Ben Lefroy, in 1846. Lucy Anne, born 1810, died in Manchester in 1818. Mary Anne, who did not marry, remained with her parents until their deaths, when she moved south, to live with her brother, TEPL, in Surrey. Though Anthony retired from the army in 1831, the censuses for 1841 and 1851 show he and Elizabeth were still in residence at North House. Anthony died in 1857, aged 80; Elizabeth died six months later in 1858.

Family letters give some indication of the different perceptions held by members of the Austen and Lefroy families of the 'romantic encounter' between Jane Austen and Tom Lefroy. James Edward and his sister Caroline Austen were inclined to play down the relationship. In a letter to her sister, Anna in 1869, Caroline wrote that the 'York Lefroys' were spreading "a strong version of it all" within the family, implying that Tom, who died later that year, aged 93, had been particularly heartless in the affair.

In response to her sister's letter, after the death of Tom Lefroy, Anna wrote to again argue for a more meaningful relationship between the two, possibly under the influence of her older brothers-in-law, George and Edward Lefroy, but also her son-in-law TEPL. It is not difficult to understand the tensions between Captain Anthony Lefroy, his family and his brother. Tom was the highly successful eldest brother, who married well and became wealthy. Anthony must have been painfully aware of the consequences of a marriage that was not approved, but still he followed his heart. The marriage of Anthony and Elizabeth lasted, through years of comparative hardship, a growing family and dependence on an increasingly more successful brother.

The 'York Lefroys', referred to in family letters, were Thomas, (TEPL) the youngest son of Captain Anthony and Elizabeth, and their spinster daughter, Mary Anne, who lived a good part of their formative years in Fulford. Perhaps the sacrifice their father made for true love, and maybe some resentment of the life they had to lead because of family disapproval, coloured the view of the 'York Lefroys' had of their successful and ambitious uncle, Tom.

**In 1793 with Great Britain at war with France, many new regiments were formed in Britain. These were mainly under the auspices of titled aristocrats, who were their Colonels-in-Chief. They were known as, 'raised for rank'. A gentleman of standing would agree to raise a regiment of 1000 men and obtain a colonelcy; in turn, he would subcontract the raising of 100 of these men to others, who would in turn obtain a captain's commission. Many of these regiments were short lived – e.g. Earl Landaff's: 1794-95, Lord Mountnorris's: 1794-96. The officers proved useless and were pensioned off or became absorbed, with the men, into existing, longer established regiments.*

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Notes on Sales 2018

Christine Penney

2018 has been a less exciting year for sales than 2017, with only one early edition turning up at the excellent on-line Forum Auctions which made such an impressive beginning last year. However no fewer than eleven were offered by Bonhams, eight of them in one sale.

First and early editions

Sense and Sensibility

Lot 4 at Bonhams on 20 June was a copy of the first edition, 1811 (Gilson A1). The half-titles and final blanks were present in Vols. 1 and 3 only. Vol. 3 lacked two leaves (signatures F3-4). The binding was nineteenth century speckled half calf over marbled boards, with red morocco spine labels, held in a cloth slipcase. It had the nineteenth century bookplate of Lord Camden (probably George Pratt, 2nd Marquess Camden, 1799-1866). The estimate was £4,000-£6,000 and it sold for £22,500. Lot 5 in the same sale was a copy of the second edition, 1813 (Gilson A2). This had facsimiles of the half-titles and the title pages to the first edition. The binding was by Birdsall, in dark purple crushed morocco with gilt panelled spines. The estimate was £1,000-£1,500 and it sold for £2,000.

Pride and Prejudice

Lot 6 at Bonhams on 20 June was a copy of the first edition, 1813 (Gilson A3). It had the half-titles and was bound in modern speckled half calf with gilt panelled spines and red morocco labels, in a cloth slipcase. The ownership signature of S. Leith Hay was on the half-titles. The estimate was £15,000-£20,000, well exceeded by the result of £40,000. Another copy, with the same estimate, was Lot 110 at Bonhams on 27 November. The binding of this one was contemporary red half roan with gilt spines. Vol. 3 lacked the half- title. This copy sold for £47,500.

Lot 7 at Bonhams on 20 June was a copy of the second edition, 1813 (Gilson A4). Lacking the half-titles it was bound in modern speckled half calf with gilt panelled spines and red morocco labels. It had a cloth slipcase. The estimate was £1,000-£1,500. It sold for £4,375.

A copy of the third edition, 1817 (Gilson A5) was Lot 370 at Dominic Winter on 16 May. The binding was contemporary half calf with marbled endpapers but the condition was poor – no half-titles, hinges split, front cover of Vol. 1 detached and stained and rubbed. It had two provenances however: “Ellen Venables 1852” inscribed on the verso of the front free endpapers and the armorial bookplate of

Henry Edward Chetwynd Stapylton on each front pastedown. He was the author of *The Stapeltons of Yorkshire* and *The Eton School Lists from 1791 to 1850*. The estimate was £800-£1,000 and it did well, despite its defects, selling for £1,600.

The rare first American edition, 1832, (Gilson B2), entitled *Elizabeth Bennet*, was Lot 110 at Bonhams (New York) on 5 December. The latest copy to appear at auction is noted in Gilson as being offered on 10 September 1974 at the Swann Galleries, New York. The two volumes were in contemporary brown cloth and boards, with the covers detached and Vol. 1 lacking the publisher's list of books at the front. They sold for \$17,500.

Mansfield Park

A copy of the first edition, 1814 (Gilson A6) was Lot 8 at Bonhams on 20 June. Vol. 2 lacked the title page but had the half-title. Vols. 1 and 3 lacked the half- titles and Vol. 3 also lacked the advertisement leaf. The binding was nineteenth century green half roan, with gilt panelled spines and it was held in a cloth slipcase. (Bonhams seem to have attracted a good supply of copies thus presented.) The provenance (undated) was given on a poetical [sic] bookplate of Mrs Jane Bentley, 5 Devonshire Terrace, Brighton. The estimate was £2,000-£3,000. It sold for £4,000.

Lot 9 in the same sale was a copy of the second edition, 1816 (Gilson A7). Vols. 2 and 3 lacked the half-titles and final blanks. The binding was, unusually, nineteenth century green patterned cloth, with red morocco spine labels and the inevitable cloth slipcase. This copy had the book labels of I.A. Wedgewood. The estimate was £800-£1,200 and it sold for £1,312. I have not been able to find out who I.A. Wedgewood was – presumably not a member of the pottery family, whose surname is spelt Wedgwood.

James Cummins, New York, offered, as Item 2 in his catalogue 139, a copy of the first American edition, 1832 (Gilson B4). This was in the original muslin-backed boards. The small ink stamp of S.B. Wright was on the title page of Vol. 2 and on another leaf. This was probably Sarah Wright, who owned the copy of *Persuasion* (Item 1 in the same catalogue – see below). The price was \$10,000.

Emma

ot 10 at Bonhams on 20 June was a copy of the first edition, 1816 (Gilson A8). The half-titles were present. The binding was nineteenth century half calf over marbled boards, with gilt panelled spines, red morocco labels, and a cloth slipcase. This copy, like that of *Sense and Sensibility* mentioned above, had the bookplate of Lord Camden. The estimate was £8,000-£12,000 but it made a huge profit, selling for £21,250. Lot 229 at Forum Auctions on 27 September was another copy, lacking the half-titles to Vols 2 and 3, that to Vol. 1 being bound at the end of the volume. It was bound in contemporary half calf with Vols. 1 and 3 rebacked

and was in a modern morocco-backed cloth drop-back box.. The ownership inscription of Georgiana, Dowager Lady Vernon was at the head of each title page. David Gilson, on page 49 of his bibliography, refers to this lady's comment on *Mansfield Park* in a letter to Mrs Phyllis Frampton, published in *The Journal of Mary Frampton*, 1885. He goes on to say, on page 50, that she also owned a copy of *Emma*, which was then in the Newberry Library, Chicago. Lot 229 was that copy, bearing a pencil note on each bookplate reading "Duplicate. Withdrawn from the Newberry Library 8-24-93 AJL". (If I had had the good fortune to find a Jane Austen duplicate on my shelves at the University of Birmingham it would have stayed there.) Forum's estimate was £7,000-£10,000; it sold for £11,000 and may now have left the public domain for good. I hope David never found out. It does not appear in his final two *Notes*, in the Reports for 1993 and 1994, and I have not spotted it subsequently. The auctioneer will not, of course, tell me where it has been since being withdrawn from the Newberry Library, nor whether it has gone to a safe, publicly available repository. Auction houses used to publish lists of purchasers with the results but Data Protection now forbids this useful information, sadly.

Northanger Abbey and Persuasion

Lot 11 at Bonhams on 20 June was a copy of the first edition, 1818 (Gilson A9). Only Vol.1 had a half-title. The binding was nineteenth century half calf over marbled boards, with gilt panelled spines, red morocco labels and a cloth slipcase. This also, like the other Lots in this sale mentioned above, had the bookplate of Lord Camden, who seems to have had his three copies of the novels bound in a similar style. The estimate was £3,000-£5,000 but it sold for only £3,500. Another copy was Lot 441 at Sotheby's on 9-10 July. This had the half- titles and was bound in later full calf with red and green labels and marbled endpapers. It had belonged to the Rev. Fulwar Craven Fowle, the brother of Cassandra's fiancé Tom; his signature, "F.C. Fowle" appeared on the title page of each volume. The estimate was £6,000-£8,000; it sold for £7,500. This was not the first time this copy had appeared in the sale room. On 12 December 2012 it was Lot 87 at Sotheby's, estimated at £4,000-£6,000, but failing to sell. Sotheby's had another go exactly four years later, on 13 December 2016, offering it at Lot 126 with an estimate of £6,000-£8,000. Again it remained unsold. It is good to know it has been lucky at the third time of asking.

Lot 111 at Bonhams on 27 November was another copy. Vols. 1 and 2 had the half-titles. The binding was contemporary half calf, rebaked but preserving the original gilt-lettered spines, held in a morocco-edged slipcase. The ownership inscription "Mrs Mercer, 1823" appeared on the front free end papers of Vols. 1, 3 and 4 and on the half-title of Vol. 2. The estimate was £2,000 -£4,000 and it sold for £5,250. This copy had made a previous appearance at Bloomsbury Auctions on 13 March 2008, at Lot 241. The estimate then was £2,000-£3,000 and it sold for £3,600.

Persuasion

A copy of the first American edition, 832 (Gilson B3) was Item 1 in James Cummins's Catalogue 139. It was in the original muslin-backed boards and had the ownership signature of Sarah Wright in pencil – probably the S.B. Wright who owned the copy of *Mansfield Park* listed in the second item in the catalogue (see above). The price was \$10,000.

Other material

Item 5 in Quaritch's Midwinter catalogue was a manuscript commonplace book, entitled "The Gem or the Lady's Album, being a miscellaneous Collection of pieces in prose and verse, anecdotes, sentiments, reflections &c", compiled in 1829 by Charlotte Sophia Tilson (1804-1902), the daughter of James Tilson, Henry Austen's partner in the Austen, Maunde and Tilson bank. Jane Austen refers to Charlotte's mother, Frances, in her letters, (e.g. Letter 56, 1-2 October 1808), and her last known letter is thought to be to her (161 C, 28-29 May 1817). The Tilsons lived at no. 26 Hans Place, close to Henry at no 23. In 1814 Jane recorded chatting, presumably rather loudly, to Mr Tilson "across the intermediate gardens", (Letter 105, 23-24 August 1814). Charlotte married one of the Kentish Austens, the Revd. John Thomas, grandson of Francis Motley Austen, in 1834 or 1835. Her album contained 173 pieces of prose and verse, some taken from the *Keepsake*. The illustrations, described as "uncommonly fine for an amateur" appeared to have been largely drawn from contemporary periodicals. The price was £2,000.

The pamphlet recording the trial of Jane Austen's unfortunate aunt, *The trial of Jane Leigh Perrot*, [1800], (Gilson L2) was Item 7 in Christopher Edwards's List 72, priced at £2,500. This was the Taunton edition, of which ESTC lists 12 copies. Much rarer was Item 8 in the same catalogue, the first London edition, 1800. David Gilson had not seen a copy of this, which he lists as L3, with information taken from an article by Mabel C. Hammond in *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 18, 1926. ESTC records only one copy at the British Library. The copy offered by Edwards was bound in nineteenth century cloth-backed boards with the armorial bookplate of Sir John Hall of Douglas, Bt. He was probably the 9th baronet, who died in 1928. The rarity was reflected in the price – £4,500.

‘They slowly paced the gradual ascent’: Taking Time with Jane Austen’s Novels

W. B. Hutchings



I

At the end of *Persuasion*, Anne Elliot and Captain Wentworth pledge their reunion in an intimate conversation on the ‘quiet and retired gravel walk’ that passes behind Gay Street and The Circus:

There they exchanged again those feelings and those promises which had once before seemed to secure every thing, but which had been followed by so many, many years of division and estrangement.¹

The beginning and ending of the sentence – ‘There they exchanged again’, ‘division and estrangement’ – both chime and conflict with each other. The main verb, ‘exchanged’, conveys reciprocal giving and receiving, a meeting of two hearts and minds; the concluding nouns emphatically convey the opposite: separation and alienation. But the two sets of words are in auditory harmony: the triple diphthongs in ‘they exchanged again’ are picked up in that tough final word, ‘estrangement’. This is what, when we’re reading poetry, we call assonance, the echoing of vowel sounds across words.

The sentence begins in the simple past, narrative’s staple tense, but its emotional gravity moves in its two subordinate clauses (‘which had once before seemed to secure every thing’, ‘but which had been followed by so many, many years of division and estrangement’) to the pluperfect, to that which preceded the narrative. That sad past occupies the greater part of the sentence (23 of its 32 words); the weight of time and its sorrows further expressed in the plangent repetition of ‘so many, many years’. But the assonance links that past’s harshest word, ‘estrangement’, back to the present moment: the bitterest recollection of separation returns us phonically to the present of mutual vows, the words that re-establish understanding between Anne and Wentworth. The sentence circles back on itself, completing a whole experience of discordant past being resolved in harmonious present.

The sentence also feels throughout under control. This is achieved through consistent use of varieties of balanced pairings: the noun phrases ‘those feelings and those promises’; the relative clauses ‘which had once before seemed to secure every thing, but which had been followed’; the adjectives ‘many, many’; the final nouns ‘division and estrangement’. Formal symmetry encompasses highs and lows alike, past griefs and present happiness. Contrary elements are held together in equipoise, the words taking their place in a sustained reciprocal movement as Anne and Wentworth re-establish their mutual exchange. As they now look back on the past and trace how time has brought them through uncertainties and miseries to their own paradise regained in the humdrum surroundings of Bath, so the sentence resolves its dissonances into overall concord. Its syntax, structure and sounds – in a word its style – convey and enact the moment of reunion.

But do we actually read novels like this? Aren’t novels stories, in which we are driven forward by narrative impulse and where plot and character are the principal centres of interest? We read to discover what will happen; we find characters more or less convincing and attractive. Novels are linear, about process; whereas I have read this sentence outside context, in unnaturally slow motion, and without what follows, thus breaking the narrative drive and making the novel pause unnaturally.

However, this sentence bears the weight of the context of all that has gone before, both before the time covered by *Persuasion*, and the events of the previous months, from autumn 1814 to spring 1815. The sentence’s emotional release is all the greater for the time we have spent leading up to it (mirroring the sense of time passing for Anne and Wentworth); and the sentence’s reflective form encapsulates, crowns, that feeling. As good poetry does. I have read it in slow motion in order to allow its perfect form to resonate. Its meaning for the characters is great, but it engages our emotional sympathy through its powerful, restrained sense of achievement. It strikes a note to which any sensitive reader will respond: it captures a profoundly satisfying emotion. As good poetry does. For Anne and Wentworth, the novel does pause at this point. Time is relative to our perception of its significance: Jane Austen’s sentence is true both to its characters and to us as privileged sharers of that moment. Let our reading stand still and rescue the moment from the remorselessness of temporal process. It steps out of time, into something more. As good poetry does.

And Jane Austen has prepared for this moment. Back in chapter eight of the first volume, at Anne’s lowest hour, Frederick Wentworth re-entered her life after nearly eight years of absence, but now on the coldest and most distant of terms. Once they felt, thought and conversed in unison, but ‘Now they were as strangers; nay, worse than strangers, for they could never become acquainted. It was a perpetual estrangement.’ Here, the threefold iteration of ‘strangers’ / ‘strangers’ / ‘estrangement’ resounds like a tolling bell, to the accompaniment of intensifying negatives: ‘nay, worse than strangers’, ‘they could never become acquainted’ (hear the echo of the diphthong in ‘strangers’), ‘it was a perpetual estrangement’. The gravel walk scene, where the intimacy and ‘power of conversation’ are restored

to the couple, reaches back over the time span of the novel to echo, and then resolve, the word ‘estrangement’. As the sentence circles back on itself, so does the whole novel.

But who on earth remembers, when they read a sentence in volume two chapter eleven, a sentence back in volume one chapter eight? However, if we are prepared to spend time with Jane Austen, to immerse ourselves in her artistry, we shall be rewarded by an extraordinary depth of feeling. Give the gravel walk scene time and full, sympathetic reading, and we feel its emotional intensity. Then, when we re-read the novel – and great art compels repeated encounters – and meet the sentence in volume one chapter eight, we experience a shock of perception that creatively yokes together the bleakest and the most blissful moments in the novel. Anne has lived through all the harshness of ‘estrangement’, and could have had to endure it for the rest of her life. On the gravel path, a gap of great time is bridged and transformed. Time is suspended, as it is by great poetry.

II

The principal vehicle that carries the movement of prose is the sentence. The heart of expressive and supple deployment of a sentence is timing: of its rhythm; of its place within a collection of sentences, a paragraph; of its location within a chapter, a whole novel. There is no finer exponent of the infinitely variable potential of the sentence than Jane Austen. And to these qualities she adds something rare and special: a capacity to so immerse her sentence within a character that it shines out with her or his consciousness, their feelings, thoughts and sense of who and where they are. I shall try to show how she does this in two very different types of sentence, one quite short, the other relatively long.

In *Pride and Prejudice*, Elizabeth Bennet and the Gardiners are touring the grounds of Pemberley when Darcy unexpectedly appears. The meeting takes both Elizabeth and Darcy by embarrassed surprise. After an awkward exchange, Elizabeth resumes her walk with her aunt and uncle:

They had now entered a beautiful walk by the side of the water, and every step was bringing forward a nobler fall of ground, or a finer reach of the woods to which they were approaching; but it was some time before Elizabeth was sensible of any of it; and, though she answered mechanically to the repeated appeals of her uncle and aunt, and seemed to direct her eyes to such objects as they pointed out, she distinguished no part of the scene. **Her thoughts were all fixed on that one spot of Pemberley House, whichever it might be, where Mr. Darcy then was.** She longed to know what at that moment was passing in his mind; in what manner he thought of her, and whether, in defiance of every thing, she was still dear to him. Perhaps he had been civil, only because he felt himself at ease; yet there had been *that* in his voice, which was not like ease. Whether he had felt more of pain or of pleasure in seeing her, she could not tell, but he certainly had not seen her with composure. (III. 1)

The sentence I’d like to focus on is the one in bold. It is at the mid-point of

the paragraph (83 words before it, 84 after). It is written in very simple, largely monosyllabic language. All three of its verbs are or use variants of 'to be'. It is as plainly prosaic as you can get. But let us not confuse simplicity with artlessness. It is the shortest sentence in the paragraph, following the longest where multiple clauses and phrases reflect the threesome's leisurely ramble through the grounds. Its contrastive blunt brevity conveys hard reality – what meeting Darcy means for Elizabeth and the rest of the novel. How does it do this?

The paragraph begins with the group: 'They had now entered a beautiful walk...' After our sentence, Elizabeth is the singular subject: 'She longed to know ... she could not tell'. Her focus is not on the beauties of the landscape, but entirely on Darcy. Those last 84 words of the paragraph contain no fewer than nine variants on 'he/him/his/himself'. The paragraph moves from group to individual, from shared physical action (walking) to mental concentration, from composed and harmonious landscape (land, water, woods) to discomposed thoughts. 'Composure' is the paragraph's last word, but is emphatically negated: 'he certainly had not seen her with composure'.

The concise middle sentence both defines and effects the transition. It describes it, and it is it. It leaves behind the grounds of Pemberley, and centres on house and man. It begins with Elizabeth ('Her thoughts') and ends with Darcy. It is about one woman's fixation with one man. It is also grammatically different from the other sentences in a way I think we feel as we read, even if we cannot at first define how. It is an entirely self-enclosed sentence as the others are not. It could not end at any point before its full-stop. 'That one spot' leaves unexplained which one spot, and so requires a further clause to define it. After a quietly comic four-word intermission ('whichever it might be': where is he? She seeks him here, she seeks him there), the definition and resolution of the sentence arrive at 'where Mr. Darcy then was'. All the other sentences in the paragraph could have ended before their full-stop and have made grammatical sense.

It is what grammarians of the time called a 'periodic' sentence. Because periodic sentences avoid the more leisurely, looser structure of additional clauses, most obviously when conjoined by the simplest of conjunctions, 'and' or 'but', they create a feeling of coherence and single-mindedness. They sound like clinching statements, especially when they end with the most significant element. Ours concludes 'where Mr. Darcy then was': the paragraph's first reference to him, which opens the gates to all those 'he's in the final section of the paragraph. The sentence drives rapidly to its conclusion, the sole focus of Elizabeth's attention.² It confirms, it fixes what the novel is now, single-mindedly, to be about. Its directness, sharpness and intensity (and its touch of humour) identify it with Elizabeth at this key moment of transformation in her life.

By contrast, in volume one, chapter sixteen of *Mansfield Park*, Fanny Price meditates at length in her East Room, a gathering-place and training ground of memory where 'she could scarcely see an object ... which had not an interesting remembrance connected with it':

Every thing was a friend, or bore her thoughts to a friend; and though there

had been sometimes much of suffering to her – though her motives had been often misunderstood, her feelings disregarded, and her comprehension under-valued; though she had known the pains of tyranny, of ridicule, and neglect, yet almost every recurrence of either had led to something consolatory; her aunt Bertram had spoken for her, or Miss Lee had been encouraging, or what was yet more frequent or more dear – Edmund had been her champion and her friend; – he had supported her cause, or explained her meaning, he had told her not to cry, or had given her some proof of affection which made her tears delightful – and the whole was now so blended together, so harmonized by distance, that every former affliction had its charm.

The middle section of the sentence balances two sets of syntactic triads. Three subordinate clauses beginning ‘though’ define the pains Fanny has endured during her time at Mansfield, and are balanced by consolations brought by three people: aunt Bertram, Miss Lee her governess, and then the most significant of these, Edmund. The pre-eminence of Edmund in her memory is marked by the emphatic rhetoric of two matching pairs of clauses: ‘he had supported her cause, or explained her meaning, he had told her not to cry, or had given her some proof of affection which made her tears delightful’.

The language and rhythm with which Jane Austen describes Edmund’s actions pick up and exemplify the beginning of the sentence, where she describes how memory works through objects gathered around Fanny: ‘Everything was a friend, or bore her thoughts to a friend’. So Edmund ‘had been her champion and her friend’. The balanced ‘or’ pattern (‘Every thing was a friend, or bore her thoughts to a friend’) expands into those matching pairs in the list of Edmund’s affectionate and charitable actions towards Fanny. This section on how Edmund’s kindness transformed sorrow into joy (‘some proof of affection which made her tears delightful’) is a preparation for and explanation of the sentence’s powerful conclusion, which is about reconciliation: ‘the whole was now so blended together, so harmonized by distance, that every former affliction had its charm’.

Step back from the whole sentence, and we see how it is itself beautifully blended together. The sentence enacts in its complex but orderly syntax the power of human agency, affection and sympathy to heal what is broken, to resolve affliction. Formally ‘loose’, but throughout under complete grammatical and emotional control, it reflects how Edmund and time combine to smooth away the disturbances of day-to-day experience. This is a testimony to the healing power of time and the associations of memory, and a testimony to active virtue, the perception that ethical human agency lies in its capacity to sympathise with another human being and to convert sympathy into positive acts of kindness.

The sentence is both within the narrative voice and a reflection of Fanny’s own intimate voice: heroine and narrator merge in an act of authorial sympathy. Jane Austen’s contemplative, slow-moving and perfectly harmonised sentence inhabits the mind and character of Fanny herself: it unfolds her temperament – so different from that of the active and articulate Elizabeth Bennet – as surely as

Fanny's possessions console, surround and embrace her.

In the *Pride and Prejudice* example, Elizabeth rapidly shifts the focus in a sharp, concentrated sentence; in *Mansfield Park*, Fanny reflects quietly on her memories. In each case, the form of the sentence is the heroine's character, her disposition. And both sentences are about time. Elizabeth lives intensely in the present: a need to know, now, what Darcy is thinking; and by so doing she points towards the future. Fanny dwells at length on the past, and gathers it around her in present space and time.

III

The more we inhabit Jane Austen's style the closer we get to the protagonist's inner core. Taking time to recognise, and immerse ourselves in, that artistry brings us close to the heart of the matter. Great prose does this - as does great poetry.

Of all Jane Austen's heroines, Fanny is the most drawn to the 'poetic'. On a Sunday in March the Price family are accompanied by Henry Crawford on their weekly walk on the ramparts at Portsmouth:

The day was uncommonly lovely. It was really March; but it was April in its mild air, brisk soft wind, and bright sun, occasionally clouded for a minute; and every thing looked so beautiful under the influence of such a sky, the effects of the shadows pursuing each other, on the ships at Spithead and the island beyond, with the ever-varying hues of the sea now at high water, dancing in its glee and dashing against the ramparts with so fine a sound, produced altogether such a combination of charms for Fanny, as made her gradually almost careless of the circumstances under which she felt them. (III, 11)

The simple but graceful phrase 'uncommonly lovely' chimes vowels ('uncommonly lovely') and harmonises its liquid 'l' consonant. The long vowel of 'day' prepares for 'April', the year re-awakening into light. This euphony opens out into a full description of the scene. Short 'i' vowels expand into their long equivalents in the phrases 'April in its mild air' and 'brisk soft wind, and bright sun', air and sun being the right constituents of such enlightenment. These co-ordinated phrases are further folded together by consonantal linking (when reading poetry we call it alliteration): 'brisk soft wind, and bright sun'. Those liquid 'l' sounds keep resounding as the description goes on: 'April', 'mild', 'clouded', 'looked', 'beautiful', 'influence, then 'island', 'glee'. This intricate, yet restrained and delicate, interweaving of phonic connections creates a feeling of an integrated scene, one composed and so harmonised, like Fanny's East Room.

Seascape and skyscape are infused with movement caused by the 'soft wind'. Jane Austen's succession of present participles conveys this dynamic motion: 'shadows pursuing', 'ever-varying hues', 'dancing in its glee', 'dashing against the ramparts'. Sea and sky share energy, elements of water and air brought into active synthesis. The world is bursting into new life. By deferring the verb 'produced', Jane Austen collects together the visual and aural effects before releasing them. The syntax is suspended at 'every thing looked so beautiful' as these dynamic

sights crowd powerfully into Fanny's sensations, before being absorbed into 'produced ... such a combination of charms' – like one wave being embraced and enhanced by another before breaking.

In the wider structure of the novel, this daylight scene complements the night scene at Mansfield where Fanny and Edmund gazed out together onto an equivalently melodious sky 'where all that was solemn and soothing, and lovely, appeared in the brilliancy of an unclouded night' (volume one, chapter eleven). There, Jane Austen had delicately entered into Fanny's poetic nature by having her quote the phrase 'on such a night as this' from an earlier, famous scene between two lovers, the lyrical exchange between Jessica and Lorenzo in *The Merchant of Venice*. Further, Fanny not only embraced her memory of Shakespeare's refrain, she also turned it into her own full line of poetry: 'When I look out on such a night as this' (an iambic pentameter), so making poetry out of poetry and then incorporating it into prose.

A prose-poem is a piece of writing that is set out as prose, and accordingly avails itself of the structures of prose (connective clauses and sentences, paragraphs) while also using some devices more commonly associated with poetry, such as metaphors and various kinds of phonic interrelationships. The more formal aspects of poetry, such as shortened line-endings, are incorporated in the prose rhythms of types of syntax, such as periodic sentences, balanced phrases and clauses. Repetitions of sounds and words, and collecting words from a shared semantic field (such as 'mild air', 'soft wind') blur the boundaries between poetry and prose, showing how porous these can be.

In the nineteenth century, the prose-poem attracted in particular French writers, such as Baudelaire, Rimbaud and Mallarmé. Baudelaire, when laying the ground for such a form, wrote in a letter, 'Quel est celui de nous qui n'a pas, dans ses jours d'ambition, rêvé le miracle d'une prose poétique, musicale, sans rythme et sans rime, assez souple et assez heurtée pour s'adapter aux mouvements lyriques de l'âme, aux ondulations de la rêverie, aux soubresauts de la conscience?' ('Which of us has not, on ambitious days, dreamed of the miracle of a poetic prose, musical, without metre and rhyme, supple and rough enough to adapt itself to the lyrical movements of the soul, the waves of reverie, the shocks of perception').³ Baudelaire was seeking for a mixed or enhanced expression defined not by fixed forms, but by its capacity to produce *effects* that come from *within*: within the poet, or the narrator, or the character – such lines of distinction becoming themselves blurred in order to create something organic, something deeply authentic.

In the twentieth century, a similar purpose moved Virginia Woolf to experiment with kinds of writing that infuse prose with some of the properties of poetry. In his introduction to an edition of *Orlando*, her nephew Quentin Bell wrote: 'I did once ask Virginia why she had never expressed herself in verse, and she replied that the rhythms of prose were subtler and more interesting. But there are moments when her prose comes very close to the music of poetry, and, as several reviewers noted at the time when the book was published, this is particularly true of *Orlando*.'

Woolf herself envisaged a new kind of novel, ‘written in prose, but in prose which has many of the characteristics of poetry’. Readers of her 1931 novel *The Waves* have often applied to it the term ‘prose-poem’. For example, Hermione Lee notes that a style of writing characterised by devices such as parallelism (‘I choose at random, I choose the obvious’) is shared by the six speakers in that novel, and comments that this rhythm ‘creates a long prose-poem’. Peter Parker’s *Reader’s Companion to the Twentieth Century Novel* describes *The Waves* as a ‘sustained prose poem’. Jane Austen’s novels are not, to be sure, such sustained essays in the ‘poetic’; but they do invite sensitivity of reading, and, at times, reflect an awareness that poetic and prose rhythms may not be always far apart. Throughout her work, sentence structures are shaped to produce what Baudelaire calls ‘effects that come from within’ characters.⁴

IV

When it comes to the illumination of characters, Jane Austen’s sculpted sentences triumphantly adapt themselves to them, and immerse themselves within them. In volume two, chapter nine of *Emma*, on an expedition with Harriet Smith to Ford’s, the shop at the hub of Highbury life, a bored Emma Woodhouse wanders over to the door and gazes out:

Much could not be hoped from the traffic of even the busiest part of Highbury; – Mr. Perry walking hastily by, Mr. William Cox letting himself in at the office door, Mr. Cole’s carriage horses returning from exercise, or a stray letter-boy on an obstinate mule, were the liveliest objects she could presume to expect; and when her eyes fell only on the butcher with his tray, a tidy old woman travelling homewards from shop with her full basket, two curs quarrelling over a dirty bone, and a string of dawdling children round the baker’s little bow-window eyeing the gingerbread, she knew she had no reason to complain, and was amused enough; quite enough still to stand at the door.

The sentence is in two halves, divided by the semi-colon after ‘expect’. Its opening general statement is wry and downbeat. In its passive mood and negative form (‘Much could not be hoped’, rather than, say, ‘Emma could expect little’) the narrative voice is aligned with the heroine’s point of view, and imbued with a tinge of weary acceptance, a verbal shrug of the shoulders. Why is Emma so resigned? It is because she has been here many times before. Four examples follow of the exciting sights experience has taught her might meet her gaze: Mr Perry, the lawyer William Cox, Mr Cole’s horses, a letter-boy on a mule. She piles them up before releasing the verb: ‘were the liveliest objects’. What a bustling centre Highbury is! The present participles (‘Mr Perry walking by’, ‘William Cox letting himself in’, ‘Mr Cole’s carriage horses returning from exercise’) reflect regularity of action. They are habitual events in the repetitive drama of Highbury life.

After the semi-colon comes an equivalent list of what Emma did, on this occasion, actually see: the butcher, an old woman travelling home, two ‘curs’ quarrelling, dawdling children. Here the present participles reflect an action in the process of taking place now, in the present. Critics term such sights ‘dynamic’, to

distinguish them from habitual events. Well, Emma might question how ‘dynamic’ they really are, but the woman’s basket is full, the butcher is about his trade and the baker’s wares are attractive. Emma’s response echoes the sentence’s opening in its subdued but accepting negative: ‘no reason to complain’. She is ‘amused’ in the sense of being diverted rather than in a patronising way, and the repetition of ‘enough’ gently, if a touch ruefully, acknowledges satisfaction, at any rate for this moment of stillness.

At Ford’s, Emma stands at the threshold, neither fully inside nor outside the shop. Like Fanny at the window, she gazes from one space out to another. As in her adult life (‘nearly twenty-one’ when the novel begins), Emma is half in, half out. Her glass is half-empty – Highbury’s habitual sights are dull routine – and half-full – this day’s dynamic events keep her ‘amused enough’. But her life is clearly not whole, not fulfilled. Emma likes to organize and control – people above all, but also her mind. This sentence’s logical structure, its balanced weighing of the possible and the actual, the ‘habitual’ and the ‘dynamic’, and its rational management of expectations bespeak something deep within her nature: a drive to egocentric command. But experience should have taught her by now that we cannot always be in control; that self-fulfilment may require the courage to relinquish, the effort and realism to step outside. Will she, in time, be able to take this step?

V

Let us step back to where we began, with Anne Elliot and Frederick Wentworth on the gravel walk in Bath:

And there, as they slowly paced the gradual ascent, heedless of every group around them, seeing neither sauntering politicians, bustling house-keepers, flirting girls, nor nursery-maids and children, they could indulge in those retrospections and acknowledgments, and especially in those explanations of what had directly preceded the present moment, which were so poignant and so ceaseless in interest.

The first complete clause of this periodic sentence, ‘they slowly paced the gradual ascent’, forms a perfect iambic pentameter. At this moment, when two lives are joined, Jane Austen blends prose and poetry. The pentameter incorporates, quietly, the familiar metaphor of life as a journey into the future (space representing time). The present is also a time for retrospection, looking back over the years intervening between Anne and Wentworth’s first union and their present reunion, and over the events of the past few days that have resulted in that reunion. Time past and time future are blended in time present. Anne and Wentworth’s absorption in each other is rendered in the most discreet of fashions, by setting them alongside the kinds of fellow-strollers whose lives pass by unnoticed. These others are described in generalised plural nouns and generic, and mildly humorous, participial adjectives: ‘sauntering politicians’, ‘flirting girls’. Those versatile present participles also imply fleeting superficiality, the lives of those for whom this moment on the gravel path is of no real consequence. Politicians

have nothing meaningful to do, and girls flirt, while for Anne and Wentworth this is an occasion of the highest significance and the utmost seriousness. The relative precision with which their feelings and thoughts are conveyed is set in relief against the vagueness of the generalised plurals: these are the kinds of people and activities that are commonly found on the walk – habitual details – whereas for one couple the event is unique and unforgettable. As a periodic sentence, the whole conveys a sense of completion, of achievement.

‘They slowly paced the gradual ascent.’ Jane Austen’s verb, ‘paced’, conveys measured, deliberate movement. Her adjective, ‘gradual’, means a physical slope ‘gentle, not steep’, and also a process in time ‘taking place by degrees; advancing step by step; slowly progressive’.⁵ Her noun, ‘ascent’, is both the gentle hill and what we do when we walk up such a hill. Space and time are fused in one expressive line. Anne and Wentworth slowly, deliberately, ascend the gravel walk; and together, begin a step-by-step upward journey – maturely considered – through the time that is the rest of their lives.

I should like to propose the line also as a metaphor for how we may read Jane Austen in order to gain the deepest insight into her meaning and the richest insight into her artistry. Such moments, such sentences are ‘spots of time’⁶: places that invite us to pause in our journey through the novel. They reflect on what has come before and look ahead to how the novel will unfold as it moves through the time of our reading. As Anne and Wentworth pace ‘slowly’ in order to give as much time as possible to savouring this finest of moments, so the author encourages us to allow key scenes and events to unfold slowly in our understanding. Such moments of supreme harmony are triumphs of her art, and perfect demonstrations of why the novels of this subtlest of artists have passed the test of time.

Notes

1. Quotations from the novels are taken from the R. W. Chapman edition, 5 vols, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932-33).
2. See George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 2 vols, 2nd ed. (London: A. Strahan, T. Cadell and W. Davies; Edinburgh: William Creech, 1801 [1st ed. 1776], II, 294; Richard Whately, *Elements of Rhetoric* (London: John Murray, 1828), pp. 253-4; Alexander Bain, *English Composition and Rhetoric. A Manual* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866), p. 91. A periodic sentence is ‘any sentence, whether simple or complex, which is so framed that the grammatical construction will not admit of a close, before the end of it’ (Whately, p. 253). Campbell restricts the term to complex sentences. A ‘loose’ sentence is one ‘whose construction will allow of a stop, so as to form a perfect sentence at one or more places, before we arrive at the end’ (Whately, p. 253). Whately gives as an example of a periodic sentence the following: ‘At last, after much fatigue, through deep roads and bad weather, we came, with no small difficulty, to our journey’s end.’ This sentence can be re-structured as a ‘loose’ sentence: ‘We came to our journey’s end / at last / with no small difficulty / after much fatigue / through deep roads / and bad weather.’ In its

periodic form, the sentence could not have a full-stop until the very ending. In its loose form, it could stop at any of the strokes. Whately argues that the ‘periodic’ form is more tightly structured because it builds up to its climax, whereas the ‘loose’ version gives us its climax straight away (‘We came to our journey’s end’) and then strings together a series of random phrases.

3. Letter/preface to Arsène Houssaye, in Charles Baudelaire, *Petits Poèmes en Prose (Le Spleen de Paris)*, introduction by Marcel A. Ruff (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1967), pp. 31-2.
4. Quentin Bell’s introduction can be found in the Vintage edition of *Orlando* (London, 1992); for Virginia Woolf’s proposition, see her essay ‘The Narrow Bridge of Art’, quoted in the introduction to the Shakespeare Head edition of *The Waves*, p. xii; Hermione Lee, *The Novels of Virginia Woolf* (London: Methuen, 1977), p. 163; Peter Parker (ed), *The Reader’s Companion to the Twentieth Century Novel* (London: Fourth Estate, 1994), p. 158.
5. *OED* 4. The root of ‘gradual’ is Latin ‘gradus’, meaning ‘step’.
6. William Wordsworth, *The Prelude (1805 text)*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt revised Helen Darbishire, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), book 11, line 258.

This paper is an extended version of an address given at the 2018 Annual General Meeting of The Jane Austen Society. I should like to thank the President, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Society for their kind invitation to speak, and for their hospitality on the day.

Contributors

Angela Barlow, in a distinguished acting career, has appeared in theatre and on television and radio in classic and contemporary drama, new works, and in her own one-woman plays about Charlotte Brontë and Olga Chekhov. She now regularly writes and speaks about aspects of Jane Austen at literary events and for Austen groups around the UK and in the USA. She has also written a biography of Diaghilev dancer Nalda Murilova.

Mark Burgess has degrees in Fine Art and in Computing and Information Technology. A software developer and technical writer, he is also an amateur historian and researcher with an interest in family and social history, and a book illustrator. He is currently writing a picture book for children on Jane Austen's time at school in Reading, research for which led to an interest in Mrs La Tournelle and her background.

Rita J. Dashwood recently obtained her doctorate in English Literature from the University of Warwick with her thesis 'Women in Residence: Forms of Belonging in Jane Austen'. She has presented papers at international conferences and her work on Austen has been published in the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* and in *Jane Austen and Philosophy* ed. Mimi Marinucci. Rita is a regular reviewer of academic books for the Jane Austen Society *News Letter*.

Allan Francis has an MA in Fine Art and is a former practising artist/designer and lecturer in Fine Art. He has a lifelong interest in history and a fascination in recovering the lost lives of not only ordinary people, but objects from the past, as a restorer, with a specific interest in the Regency period and the Napoleonic conflict.

Sophia Hillan, author of *May, Lou and Cass: Jane Austen's Nieces in Ireland* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2011) was Associate Director of Queen's University Belfast's Institute of Irish Studies (1993-2003). Dr Hillan continues to research the story of Jane Austen's family in Ireland, to speak on the subject at conferences and festivals and to lead (with Edward Austen Knight's descendant Richard Mulholland), guided tours of the places associated with Jane Austen's nieces. In 2019, she will address the Letterkenny Cathedral Quarter Literary Festival.

Jane Hurst is a local historian, researcher, writer and guide based in Alton, Hampshire. She is a regular contributor to Jane Austen Society publications and her books include *Jane Austen and Chawton* and *Jane Austen and Alton*.

Bill Hutchings is Honorary Research Fellow in the School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, University of Manchester. He was previously Senior Lecturer in English Literature and Director of the Centre for Excellence in Enquiry-Based Learning. He has written on eighteenth-century poets, including William Collins, William Cowper, Thomas Gray and James Thomson. His *Living Poetry* and *Living*

Fiction were published in 2012 and 2014. He has also written extensively on the teaching of literature, and is a National Teaching Fellow.

Karen Ievers is originally from the United States and studied at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Her interest in Irish history began when she married her husband, Norman, in 2011, and began organising the Ievers family archives. Karen, Norman, and their children split their time between Jerusalem and their Irish Georgian house, Mount Ievers Court in Co. Clare. Karen has recently begun collecting 19th century books and other antique collectibles relating to Irish/English women writers and hopes to one day open an exhibition at Mount Ievers.

Marilyn Joice is a semi-retired Primary Teacher, who dates her interest in Jane Austen back to grammar school and an inspirational English teacher. She became a Life Member of the Jane Austen Society in 1975 and in 1999, with five other Austen devotees, she co-founded the Northern Branch, which she chairs. She is also a Trustee of the Society with responsibility for the Society's News Page in *Regency World* magazine and is an active participant in the Talks Programme.

Hazel Jones runs residential courses and gives public lectures on Jane Austen's novels, letters, life and times. Her books include *Jane Austen and Marriage* and *Jane Austen's Journeys*. She is presently researching and writing her forthcoming book, *The Other Knight Boys*, about Jane Austen's Godmersham nephews.

John Avery Jones CBE is a retired Judge of the Upper Tribunal (Tax and Chancery Chamber) and a retired Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics. He recently gave a paper at a tax history conference in Cambridge entitled "Tax and Taxability: 'Trade, profession or vocation' seen through the eyes of Jane Austen," and he is currently working on a paper on Henry Austen's bankruptcy.

Sheila Johnson Kindred formerly taught in the Philosophy Department of St Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. She writes and lectures about Jane Austen's family and her fiction. Her book *Jane Austen's Transatlantic Sister: the Life and Letters of Fanny Palmer Austen* was published in 2017.

Devoney Looser is Professor of English at Arizona State University and the author or editor of several books on literature by women, notably *The Making of Jane Austen* (2017) and *Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain 1750-1850* (2008). She writes for academic and popular journals on both sides of the Atlantic and is a regular conference speaker. She has recently written the introduction and contextual essays for a de luxe edition of *Sense and Sensibility*.

Christine Penney spent most of her working life at the University of Birmingham, first as University Archivist and then as Head of Special Collections for the last ten years before retirement. She is currently Hon. Hurd Librarian at Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire, and has been compiling Notes on Sales for the Jane Austen Society since 1995.

Report of the Trustees and Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year ended 31st December 2018 for The Jane Austen Society

The trustees present their report with the financial statements of the charity for the year ended 31st December 2018. The trustees have adopted the provisions of Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) (effective 1 January 2015).

OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

Objectives and aims

The principal objective of the Society is as follows:

To promote the advancement of education for the public benefit of the life and works of Jane Austen and the Austen family.

The objective is primarily achieved by the production of publications relating to the life and works of Jane Austen, through education and by contributions to academic debate regarding Jane Austen, her works and family.

The Society sought to increase its activities in the field of education through the work of the Education Sub-committee.

The Society, where appropriate, may seek to preserve artefacts relating to Jane Austen, either by purchase or by contributions towards expenses. In particular it may contribute to projects at Jane Austen's House Museum in Chawton.

The Society's objectives for the year were to build on the progress made in previous years and to raise the profile of the Society by the production of new articles and publications.

Public Benefit

When planning activities and considering the making of grants, the trustees have considered the Charity Commission's guidance on public benefit and in particular, the specific guidance on charities for the advancement of education and the advancement of the arts, culture, heritage or science.

The trustees believe that the Society fulfils these objectives through its educational activities, by its contribution to historical research regarding Jane Austen and the preservation of artefacts relating to Jane Austen and the Austen family.

Significant activities

The Society did not produce or reprint any publications in the year. Following the retirement of Patrick Stokes as the conference organiser, it was decided not to hold a conference in 2018. It is hoped to hold a conference in 2019 based in Hampshire.

Three grants totalling £200 were made to the pupils of Bristol Grammar School in respect of the Society's essay prize. A grant of £50 was made towards a memorial to Tony Corley.

In anticipation of the 250th anniversary of Jane Austen's birth in 2025, the trustees have launched a fundraising initiative to support the educational role of the society. This will be known as the "Jane Austen 250 Fund" and although an unrestricted fund, a purpose which the trustees specifically wish to support is the educational activity of the Jane Austen's House Museum. Following the acquisition by the museum of an original set of late nineteenth century illustrations for *Sense and Sensibility* by Chris (Christiana) Hammond, the society made a donation to the museum of £1,500.

No applications were received for grants from the educational fund during the year.

FINANCIAL REVIEW

The financial results for the year are set out in the Statement of Financial Activities on page 5 of these financial statements.

**Report of the Trustees
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018**

FINANCIAL REVIEW

There was a surplus of income over expenditure on the general fund of £779 in the year (2017 surplus £4,539). This surplus was reduced by a reduction in the value of the Society's investments of £5,145 (2017 - increase £14,853).

FUTURE PLANS

The committee's aims in the future are to continue to promote the activities of the Society, by the production of publications, the organisation of conferences and any other activities which they consider appropriate.

STRUCTURE, GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Governing document

The Jane Austen Society is governed by the Constitution adopted on 16th July 1994 as amended on 26th July 2003.

Organisational structure

The Society is administered by the executive committee, which in accordance with the constitution consists of not less than 10 nor more than 17 members. The members of the committee are the trustees of the charity.

All members of the executive committee (including the officers) are elected by postal ballot of the members of the Society for a period of five years and are then eligible for re-election. The executive committee in addition may appoint up to four co-opted members.

On appointment trustees are given information on the role of a trustee and Charity Law.

The committee met three times during the year, and in addition a joint meeting was held with representatives of the branches and groups.

Two sub-committees meet as and when required to deal with the processes relating to the publications and the educational activities of the Society.

REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Registered Charity number

1040613

Principal address

c/o Mrs Maureen Stiller
20 Parsonage Road
Henfield
West Sussex
BN5 9JG

Trustees

Fiona Ainsworth
Sharron Bassett
Anthony Finney
Clare Graham
Mary Hogg
Matthew Huntley
Richard Jenkins
Marilyn Joice
Michael Kenning
Maggie Lane Jameson
Elizabeth Proudman
David Richardson
Maureen Stiller

Honorary Treasurer
Chairman

Vice Chairman

Honorary Secretary

**Report of the Trustees
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018**

REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Independent examiner

D A Sanders BA (Hons) FCA
Sheen Stickland Chartered Accountants
4 High Street
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 1BU

Bankers

TSB Bank plc
40 High Street
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 1BQ

RESERVES

The Society's policy regarding reserves is detailed in note 1 on page 8 of these accounts. The committee consider, on the basis of current information available, that these funds are adequate to meet their known future commitments.

Approved by order of the board of trustees on 30th May 2017 and signed on its behalf by:


Richard Jenkyns - Trustee

**Independent Examiner's Report to the Trustees of
The Jane Austen Society**

Independent examiner's report to the trustees of The Jane Austen Society

I report to the charity trustees on my examination of the accounts of the The Jane Austen Society (the Trust) for the year ended 31st December 2018.

Responsibilities and basis of report

As the charity trustees of the Trust you are responsible for the preparation of the accounts in accordance with the requirements of the Charities Act 2011 ('the Act').

I report in respect of my examination of the Trust's accounts carried out under section 145 of the Act and in carrying out my examination I have followed all applicable Directions given by the Charity Commission under section 145(5)(b) of the Act.

Independent examiner's statement

I have completed my examination. I confirm that no material matters have come to my attention in connection with the examination giving me cause to believe that in any material respect:

1. accounting records were not kept in respect of the Trust as required by section 130 of the Act; or
2. the accounts do not accord with those records; or
3. the accounts do not comply with the applicable requirements concerning the form and content of accounts set out in the Charities (Accounts and Reports) Regulations 2008 other than any requirement that the accounts give a true and fair view which is not a matter considered as part of an independent examination.

I confirm that there are no other matters to which your attention should be drawn to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.



D A Sanders BA (Hons) FCA
Sheen Stickland Chartered Accountants
4 High Street
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 1BU

Date: 14 June 2019

**Statement of Financial Activities
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018**

	Notes	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	2018 Total funds £	2017 Total funds £
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS FROM					
Donations and legacies		21,649	-	21,649	20,059
Other charitable activities	2	30,067	-	30,067	35,104
Investment income	3	6,281	-	6,281	6,151
Total		<u>57,997</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>57,997</u>	<u>61,314</u>
EXPENDITURE ON					
Charitable activities					
Charitable activities		56,700	-	56,700	56,775
Total		<u>56,700</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>56,700</u>	<u>56,775</u>
Net gains/(losses) on investments		(5,145)	-	(5,145)	14,853
NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE)		<u>(3,848)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>(3,848)</u>	<u>19,392</u>
RECONCILIATION OF FUNDS					
Total funds brought forward		222,692	1,000	223,692	204,300
TOTAL FUNDS CARRIED FORWARD		<u><u>218,844</u></u>	<u><u>1,000</u></u>	<u><u>219,844</u></u>	<u><u>223,692</u></u>

The Jane Austen Society

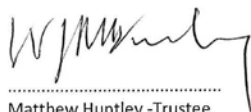
Balance Sheet
At 31st December 2018

	Notes	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	2018 Total funds £	2017 Total funds £
FIXED ASSETS					
Investments	8	181,023	-	181,023	186,168
CURRENT ASSETS					
Stocks	9	459	-	459	-
Debtors	10	4,192	-	4,192	4,729
Cash at bank		38,870	1,000	39,870	36,945
		<u>43,521</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>44,521</u>	<u>41,674</u>
CREDITORS					
Amounts falling due within one year	11	(5,700)	-	(5,700)	(4,150)
NET CURRENT ASSETS		<u>37,821</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>38,821</u>	<u>37,524</u>
TOTAL ASSETS LESS CURRENT LIABILITIES		<u>218,844</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>219,844</u>	<u>223,692</u>
NET ASSETS		<u>218,844</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>219,844</u>	<u>223,692</u>
FUNDS	12				
Unrestricted funds				218,844	222,692
Restricted funds				1,000	1,000
TOTAL FUNDS				<u>219,844</u>	<u>223,692</u>

The financial statements were approved by the Board of Trustees on 30th May 2019 and were signed on its behalf by:



Richard Jenkyns -Trustee



Matthew Huntley -Trustee

The notes form part of these financial statements

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Basis of preparing the financial statements

The financial statements of the charity, which is a public benefit entity under FRS 102, have been prepared in accordance with 'Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) (effective 1st January 2015) - (Charities SORP (FRS 102))', 'The Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland - (FRS102)' and the Charities Act 2011.

The financial statements have been prepared under the historical cost convention with the exception of investments which are included at market value, as modified by the revaluation of certain assets.

Income

All income is recognised in the Statement of Financial Activities once the charity has entitlement to the funds, it is probable that the income will be received and the amount can be measured reliably.

Expenditure

Liabilities are recognised as expenditure as soon as there is a legal or constructive obligation committing the charity to that expenditure, it is probable that a transfer of economic benefits will be required in settlement and the amount of the obligation can be measured reliably. Expenditure is accounted for on an accruals basis and has been classified under headings that aggregate all cost related to the category. Where costs cannot be directly attributed to particular headings they have been allocated to activities on a basis consistent with the use of resources.

Grants offered subject to conditions which have not been met at the year end date are noted as a commitment but not accrued as expenditure.

Stocks

Prior to 31st December 2017, purchases of publications for resale were written off in equal instalments over a period of five years. Stocks therefore represented the unamortised portion of the last four years' purchases. Given the level of sales of publications in recent years, the trustees made the decision to write off the balance of the stock of publications in the year ended 31st December 2017.

Stocks held at branches of publications purchased direct from suppliers by those branches are not shown in the accounts.

Stocks of fundraising items for resale are valued at the lower of cost and net realisable value.

Taxation

The charity is exempt from tax on its charitable activities.

Fund accounting

Unrestricted Fund is a fund of which the executive committee of the Society has unrestricted authority to spend the income and the capital to further the objectives of the Jane Austen Society.

Designated Funds represent unrestricted funds earmarked for particular purposes by the executive committee of the Society in the exercise of its discretionary powers.

Restricted Funds are funds which are subject to a restriction as to their use.

Further explanation of the nature and purpose of each fund is included in the notes to the financial statements.

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES - continued

Heritage assets

As explained further in note 7 to the financial statements, it is proposed that the majority of the heritage assets owned by the society are to be gifted to Jane Austen's House Museum in the year ended 31st December 2019. In the opinion of the trustees therefore, as the assets will be disposed of by the charity in the short or medium term, the cost of obtaining a reliable valuation of these items would not be justified by the usefulness of the information to the users of the accounts or to the charity for its own stewardship purposes and these assets are not recognised on the balance sheet of the charity.

Reserves

The balance of the general fund (excluding designated funds) represents approximately seventeen months expenditure which the committee consider to be appropriate in the circumstances.

£120,000 of the legacies received in the years ended 31st December 2003 and 31st December 2004 was transferred to a designated fund. It was originally intended that the income from this fund would be used to provide travel bursaries to those wishing to carry out studies in furtherance of the charitable objects of the society. It has now been decided by the committee that this fund should be re-designated to cover a wider range of educational activities.

Branches and Groups

Branches of the society are defined in charity law as an integral part of the Society and as such enjoy various privileges and responsibilities in regard to the Society. In particular a branch can call upon the Society for financial support and is covered by the public liability insurance of the Society. The financial results of the branches are incorporated into the Society's statement of financial activities and the assets and liabilities of branches are included in the Society's balance sheet.

A group is an informal gathering of members of the Society (or others) from a particular area and has no connection in law with The Jane Austen Society, and the financial activities of groups are not included in these accounts.

Details of activities of the branches are shown in note 14 to the accounts.

2. OTHER CHARITABLE ACTIVITIES

	2018	2017
	£	£
Sales of publications	882	1,325
Advertising and distribution	-	125
Sale of Annual General Meeting tickets	1,155	1,659
Income of branches	28,030	31,995
	<u>30,067</u>	<u>35,104</u>

3. INVESTMENT INCOME

	2018	2017
	£	£
Income from listed investments	<u>6,281</u>	<u>6,151</u>

**Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018**

4. TRUSTEES' REMUNERATION AND BENEFITS

There were no trustees' remuneration or other benefits for the year ended 31st December 2018 nor for the year ended 31st December 2017.

Trustees' expenses

During the year a total of £2,218 was reimbursed to twelve trustees in respect of travelling and other expenses (2017 - £2,146).

5. COMPARATIVES FOR THE STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	Total funds £
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS FROM			
Donations and legacies	20,059	-	20,059
Other charitable activities	35,104	-	35,104
Investment income	6,151	-	6,151
Total	61,314	-	61,314
EXPENDITURE ON			
Charitable activities			
Charitable activities	56,775	-	56,775
Total	56,775	-	56,775
Net gains/(losses) on investments	14,853	-	14,853
NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE)	19,392	-	19,392
RECONCILIATION OF FUNDS			
Total funds brought forward	203,300	1,000	204,300
TOTAL FUNDS CARRIED FORWARD	222,692	1,000	223,692

6. NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE) FOR THE YEAR

This is stated after charging

	2018 £	2017 £
Independent examiner's remuneration	1,350	1,350
Other accountancy fees	1,170	1,170
	2,520	2,520

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018

7. HERITAGE ASSETS

Over many years the Society has been given or has purchased mementoes of Jane Austen comprising items of jewellery, furniture and early editions of Jane Austen's work etc. which are maintained on public display at the Jane Austen's House Museum, Chawton. Portraits of various members of the Austen family have also been donated to the Society over the years.

At a meeting of the trustees in January 2019 it was decided that the items currently on loan to Jane Austen's House Museum would be offered to the museum as a gift. This decision will be ratified at the Annual General Meeting of the society in July 2019.

In addition to the items at the Jane Austen's House Museum, the Society also has temporary ownership of a portrait of Edward Austen-Knight which was donated to the Society in 1953. This portrait is now on display at Chawton House Library; the donor's intention, however, was that ownership would eventually be transferred to the Knight family.

The Society has a clear duty of care for these assets and to make them available for the enjoyment and education of the public as far as possible, commensurate with their long term care and preservation. The highest possible standards of collection management are applied by those who hold the collection. All enquiries and requests for information will be considered on their merits subject to appropriate security and data protection guidelines.

The society does not envisage the acquisition of any heritage assets in the future but will continue to support the Jane Austen's House Museum in any appropriate acquisition by the museum, in particular by the use of funds held in the 250 Fund.

8. FIXED ASSET INVESTMENTS

	Listed investments £
MARKET VALUE	
At 1st January 2018	186,168
Revaluations	(5,145)
At 31st December 2018	<u>181,023</u>
 NET BOOK VALUE	
At 31st December 2018	<u>181,023</u>
At 31st December 2017	<u>186,168</u>

There were no investment assets outside the UK.

Investments at 31st December 2018 represents 12,605 units in the COIF Charities Investment Fund.

The historical cost of fixed asset investments at 31st December 2018 was £154,922 (2017 - £154,922).

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018

9. STOCKS

	2018	2017
	£	£
Fundraising items for resale	459	-
	<u>459</u>	<u>-</u>

10. DEBTORS: AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR

	2018	2017
	£	£
Other debtors	2,899	4,729
Prepayments	1,293	-
	<u>4,192</u>	<u>4,729</u>

11. CREDITORS: AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR

	2018	2017
	£	£
Other creditors	-	50
Accruals and deferred income	5,700	4,100
	<u>5,700</u>	<u>4,150</u>

12. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS

	At 1.1.18	Net movement in funds	Transfers between funds	At 31.12.18
	£	£	£	£
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	79,802	(4,366)	240	75,676
Life membership fund	6,890	-	(240)	6,650
Education fund	126,000	-	-	126,000
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	-	-	10,000
250 fund	-	518	-	518
	<u>222,692</u>	<u>(3,848)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>218,844</u>
Restricted funds				
Acquisition fund	1,000	-	-	1,000
	<u>223,692</u>	<u>(3,848)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>219,844</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>223,692</u>	<u>(3,848)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>219,844</u>

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018

12. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS - continued

Net movement in funds, included in the above are as follows:

	Incoming resources £	Resources expended £	Gains and losses £	Movement in funds £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	55,777	(54,998)	(5,145)	(4,366)
250 fund	2,220	(1,702)	-	518
	<u>57,997</u>	<u>(56,700)</u>	<u>(5,145)</u>	<u>(3,848)</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u><u>57,997</u></u>	<u><u>(56,700)</u></u>	<u><u>(5,145)</u></u>	<u><u>(3,848)</u></u>

Comparatives for movement in funds

	At 1.1.17 £	Net movement in funds £	Transfers between funds £	At 31.12.17 £
Unrestricted Funds				
General fund	60,145	19,392	265	79,802
Life membership fund	7,155	-	(265)	6,890
Education fund	126,000	-	-	126,000
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	-	-	10,000
	<u>203,300</u>	<u>19,392</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>222,692</u>
Restricted Funds				
Acquisition fund	1,000	-	-	1,000
TOTAL FUNDS	<u><u>204,300</u></u>	<u><u>19,392</u></u>	<u><u>-</u></u>	<u><u>223,692</u></u>

Comparative net movement in funds, included in the above are as follows:

	Incoming resources £	Resources expended £	Gains and losses £	Movement in funds £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	61,314	(56,775)	14,853	19,392
TOTAL FUNDS	<u><u>61,314</u></u>	<u><u>(56,775)</u></u>	<u><u>14,853</u></u>	<u><u>19,392</u></u>

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018

12. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS - continued

A current year 12 months and prior year 12 months combined position is as follows:

	At 1.1.17 £	Net movement in funds £	Transfers between funds £	At 31.12.18 £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	60,145	15,026	505	75,676
Life membership fund	7,155	-	(505)	6,650
Education fund	126,000	-	-	126,000
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	-	-	10,000
250 fund	-	518	-	518
Restricted funds				
Acquisition fund	1,000	-	-	1,000
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>204,300</u>	<u>15,544</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>219,844</u>

A current year 12 months and prior year 12 months combined net movement in funds, included in the above are as follows:

	Incoming resources £	Resources expended £	Gains and losses £	Movement in funds £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	117,091	(111,773)	9,708	15,026
250 fund	2,220	(1,702)	-	518
	<u>119,311</u>	<u>(113,475)</u>	<u>9,708</u>	<u>15,544</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>119,311</u>	<u>(113,475)</u>	<u>9,708</u>	<u>15,544</u>

13. RELATED PARTY DISCLOSURES

There were no related party transactions for the year ended 31st December 2018.

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018

14. BRANCHES

	Midlands £	Kent £	Northern £	Scotland £	South West £	Total £
Income						
Subscriptions	793	1,123	754	885	560	4,115
Income from events	3,026	1,554	3,809	1,473	13,395	23,257
Sales of publications	60	22	-	-	-	82
Donations			420	148	-	568
Interest	2	-	2	4	-	8
Other income	-	-	-	-	-	-
	<u>3,881</u>	<u>2,699</u>	<u>4,985</u>	<u>2,510</u>	<u>13,955</u>	<u>28,030</u>
Expenses						
Expenses of events	3,025	1,561	3,245	2,296	13,723	23,850
Cost of Publications	495	893	878	-	-	2,266
Donations	-	-	250	-	-	250
Administration expenses	324	69	334	374	174	1,275
	<u>3,844</u>	<u>2,523</u>	<u>4,707</u>	<u>2,670</u>	<u>13,897</u>	<u>27,641</u>
	<u>37</u>	<u>176</u>	<u>278</u>	<u>(160)</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>389</u>

**Detailed Statement of Financial Activities
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018**

	2018 £	2017 £
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS		
Donations and legacies		
Annual subscriptions received	15,380	15,526
Gift Aid tax recoverable	2,609	2,204
Sundry donations and receipts	3,660	2,329
	<u>21,649</u>	<u>20,059</u>
Other charitable activities		
Sales of publications	882	1,325
Advertising and distribution	-	125
Sale of Annual General Meeting tickets	1,155	1,659
Income of branches	28,030	31,995
	<u>30,067</u>	<u>35,104</u>
Investment income		
Income from listed investments	6,281	6,151
	<u>57,997</u>	<u>61,314</u>
Total incoming resources		
EXPENDITURE		
Charitable activities		
Printing and stationery	234	42
Postage and telephone	-	29
Subscriptions	20	20
Insurance	575	343
Sundry expenses	63	78
Newsletter	6,093	5,996
Members' database	481	483
Annual General Meeting	8,795	8,562
Jane Austen Bicentennial	-	1,658
Annual Report	4,476	4,447
Bank charges	799	851
Expenses of branches	27,641	30,075
Grants to institutions	1,750	200
	<u>50,927</u>	<u>52,784</u>
Support costs		
Management		
Trustees' expenses	1,952	1,471

**Detailed Statement of Financial Activities
for the Year Ended 31st December 2018**

	2018 £	2017 £
Governance costs		
Accountancy fees	2,520	2,520
Legal and professional fees	1,301	-
	<u>3,821</u>	<u>2,520</u>
Total resources expended	56,700	56,775
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Net income	<u><u>1,297</u></u>	<u><u>4,539</u></u>

